The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 19, Number 6 www.ihr.org November/December 2000

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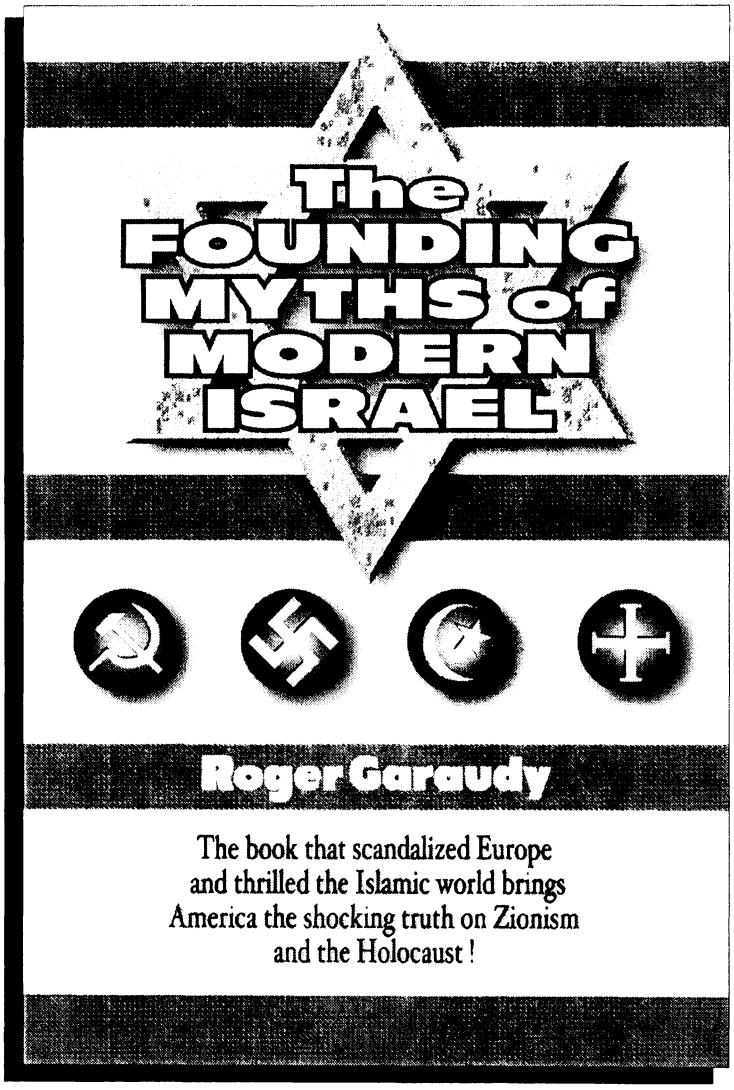
Unmasking Zionism's Most Dangerous Myths


The FOUNDING MYTHS of MODERN ISRAEL
Roger Garaudy
The book that scandalized Europe and thrilled the Islamic world brings America the shocking truth on Zionism and the Holocaust!

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For financial gain, as an alibi for indefensible policies, and for other reasons, Jews have used what the author calls "theological myths" to arrogate for themselves a "right of theological divine chosenness." The wartime suffering of Europe's Jews, he contends, has been elevated to the status of a secular religion, and is now treated with sacrosanct historical uniqueness.

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For decades Roger Garaudy was prominent in the French Communist Party, making a name for himself as a Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, and as a leading Marxist intellectual and theoretician. Later he broke with Communism, eventually becoming a Muslim.

When *Founding Myths* first appeared in France, it touched off a storm of controversy among intellectuals and a furious uproar in the media. Soon Garaudy was charged with violating France's notorious Gayssot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. A Paris court found him guilty and fined him $40,000. His trial and conviction for Holocaust heresy prompted wide international support, above all from across the Arab and Muslim world.

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by Roger Garaudy

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The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 19, Number 6 November / December 2000

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On the cover: German troops use artillery against well-entrenched Soviet forces in the Ukrainian city of Zhitomir, 1941.

The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the tradition of Historical Revisionism of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A. J. P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the **Institute for Historical Review,** P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. Subscription price: $40 per year, $65 for two years, and $90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add $20 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add $40 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank. Donations to the IHR are tax-deductible.

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An Update

The Diary of Anne Frank: Is it Genuine?

ROBERT FAURISSON

This article, written in June 2000 at the request of Italian scholar Cesare Saletta, is adapted from the preface to the recently-published Italian edition of Dr. Faurisson's essay, "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?," which was originally written in 1978 for submission to a Hamburg court, and published in French, two years later, in a work by Serge Thion.[1] In the following essay, the author takes another look at the famous diary (or diaries), taking into account developments since then, including the publication in 1986 by a Netherlands government agency of a comprehensive "critical edition" of the Anne Frank diary.

— The Editor

Pierre Vidal-Naquet in 1980: 'A Doctored Text'

In 1980, the prominent French Jewish scholar Pierre Vidal-Naquet, in whose eyes I am nothing but an "assassin of memory" (Jewish memory, it is understood), nonetheless wrote:[2]

> It sometimes happens that Faurisson is right. I have said publicly, and repeat here, that when he shows that the Anne Frank diary is a doctored text, he may not be right in all details, [but] he is certainly right overall and an expert examination made for the Hamburg court has just shown that, in effect, this text was at the very least revised after the war, since [it was written] using ballpoint pens which appeared only in 1951. That is plain, clear and precise.

Anne Frank in 1942. She died of typhus in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp in March 1945, shortly before her 16th birthday. On March 16, 1945, a revisionist researcher has found, 102 women, girls and babies named "Anne" or "Anna" were killed in the Bavarian city of Würzburg, victims of an incendiary bomb attack by Allied war planes.

Those familiar with Vidal-Naquet, and his penchant for chopping and changing, will not be surprised to learn that, a few years afterwards, the professor repudiated this statement.

The 1986 'Critical Edition' of the Anne Frank Diary

In 1986 there appeared in Amsterdam, under the direction of the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation — Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (RIOD) — a *big* volume with "scholarly" pretensions.[3] (The dust jacket of the US edition calls this "the most fascinating, comprehensive study of that diary in existence," while the dust

---

Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, he was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. After years of private research and study, Dr. Faurisson first made public his skeptical views about the Holocaust extermination story in articles published in 1978 and 1979 in the French daily *Le Monde*. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in several books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this *Journal*. A four-volume collection of many of his revisionist writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), was published in 1999.

This essay is adapted from a piece written in June 2000 as the preface to a recent Italian edition of "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?"

jacket blurb of the French edition similarly calls this the "complete edition of the diary's three versions.") Those words communicated, not that Anne Frank's "diary" was genuine, but rather — and what a surprise, this plural! — that her "diaries" were. With much circumspect wording, this book accused the young girl's father, Otto Heinrich Frank, of having carried out manipulations of the original texts, and of having lied. Of the abusive "corrections" and "cuts" imputed to the latter, the Netherlands Institute stated straightforwardly:[4]

> All this may seem natural and understandable in one who aspired merely to publish the essence ("das Wesentliche") of the literary bequest, the document humain, of his daughter, in what appeared to him a fit and proper manner. However, the sentence inserted on his authority at the conclusion of the Dutch edition of the Diary: "With the exception of a few sections of little interest to the reader, the original text has been retained," must be seen as something more than an obvious understatement.
>
> Otto Frank stuck to this conviction to his death: "the essence" had been published and that was the end of the matter. No amount of argument could make him change his mind.
>
> As a result, over the long years during which the diary went on to play an increasingly important role in the view of millions of people who came to look on it as a historical document rather that as a work of literature, he did not make it easier to ward off attacks on the book.

The Netherlands Institute thus conceded to me a point of capital importance: I had been right in reproaching Otto Frank and in attacking his stubbornness in hiding the truth about his manipulations. But the "critical edition" held that there had nevertheless existed a whole series of Anne Frank diaries, all genuine, and that thus I had been wrong on the other, essential question, of the diary's authenticity. I had, therefore, the right to expect both a rebuttal of my arguments on that point, and a demonstration of the authenticity of the diaries. Yet, in this purportedly scholarly Netherlands Institute edition, I found nothing of the kind.

A Diversionary Tactic

This 720-page work resembles the sort of deception whereby an attempt is made, through a show of learning on a given subject, to draw attention away from the matter at hand. In this case, the demonstration is essentially nothing more than a handwriting analysis. Accompanied with a generous array of photographs and tables, stress is laid in this "scholarly" book on the similarities between handwriting samples, while differences — glaring

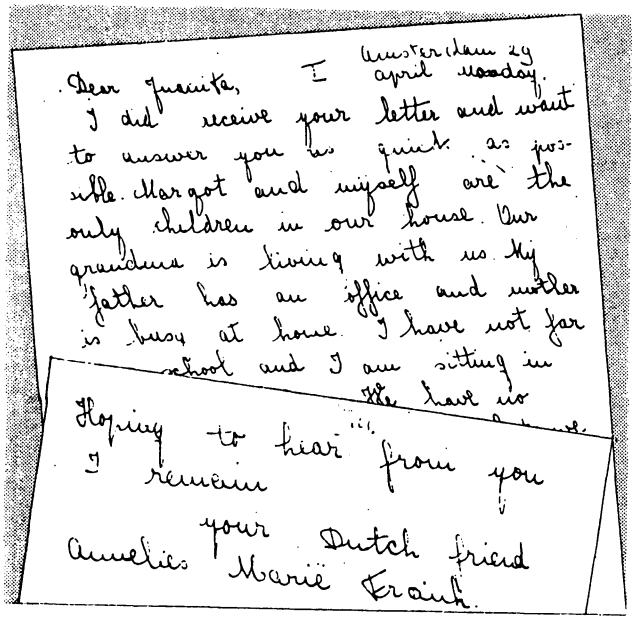
Robert Faurisson in his home town of Vichy, France, September 2000.

even to a layman — are handled with great discretion.

A crucial point: We are not shown the two handwriting samples that I had reproduced in my analysis (page 297 of Thion's 1980 book), and no analysis of them is offered by the Netherlands Institute. I refer here to two extraordinarily divergent samples: the "adult" cursive script dated June 12, 1942, and the "childish" printed script dated four months later, October 10, 1942; the two "Anne Frank" signatures alone differ peculiarly. It was in this regard that I most wanted an answer, for this goes to the heart of the matter.[5]

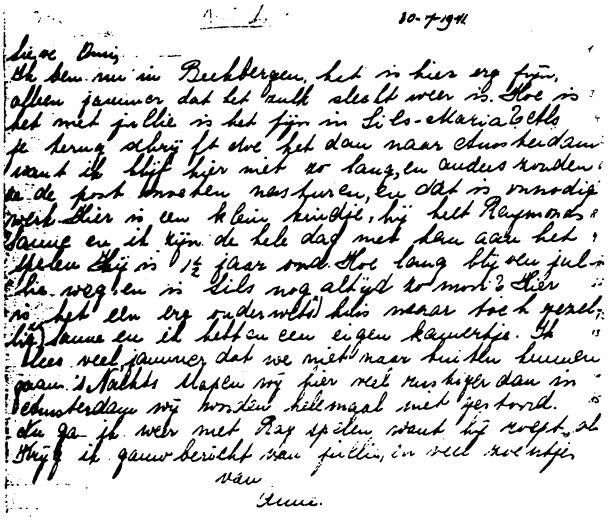
There is no sample of Isa Cauvern's *handwriting*, about whose involvement I had voiced suspicions. She had been Otto Frank's secretary. She

A Comparison of Handwriting Samples, Each Attributed to Anne Frank



Dear Juanita, Amsterdam 29 April Monday.
I did receive your letter and want to answer you as quick as possible. Margot and myself are the only children in our house. Our grandma is living with us. My father has an office and mother is busy at home. I have not far school and I am sitting in the [illegible] We have no [illegible]
Hoping to hear from you
I remain
your Dutch friend
Annelies Marie Frank

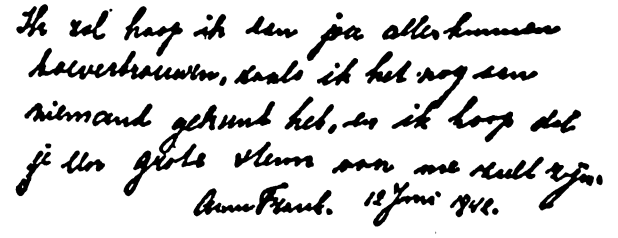
April 29, 1940, from a letter written when Anne was nearly eleven years old. Source: *The New York Times*, July 22, 1988, front page.



10-7-1941

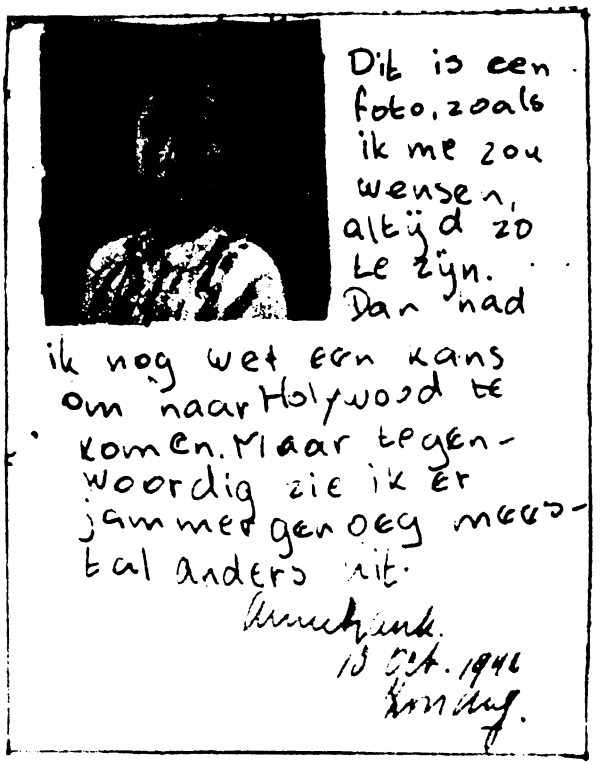
Lieve Ommi,
Ik ben nu in Beekbergen, het is hier erg fijn, alleen jammer dat het zulk slecht weer is. Hoe is het met jullie in het fijn in Lies-Maria? Gelt je terug schrijf je dra? Het dan naar Amsterdam want ik blijf hier niet zo lang, en anders worden de post kosten nagestuurd, en dat is onnodig werk. Hier is een klein kindje, bij het Raymonds, Sanne en ik zijn de hele dag met dat aapje het. Heden Dij is 1½ jaar oud. Hoe lang blijf jullie weg? En is Lies nog altijd zo mooi? Hier is het erg gezellig, lieve maar toch gezelliger Sanne en ik hebben een eigen kamertje. Ik lees veel, jammer dat we niet naar huis kunnen gaan. 's Nachts slapen wij hier veel rustiger dan in Amsterdam wij worden helemaal niet gestoord. Als ga je wel met Ray spelen want hij vraagt altijd. Ik ga nu berichtje van jullie, in veel liefde van Anne.

July 30, 1941. Source: *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (New York: Doubleday, 1989), p. 107.



Ik zal hoop ik dan ja alles kunnen bekennen, zoals ik het nog aan niemand gekund heb, en ik hoop dat je een groote steun aan me zult zijn.
Anne Frank. 12 Juni 1942.

June 12, 1942, when Anne was exactly 13 years old. Source: *The Diary of a Young Girl: The Definitive Edition* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), p. ix.



Dit is een foto, zoals ik me zou wensen, altijd zo te zijn. Dan had ik nog wel een kans om naar Holywood te komen. Maar tegenwoordig zie ik er jammergenoeg meestal anders uit.
Anne Frank.
10 Okt. 1942
Sunday.

October 10, 1942. The text reads: "This is a photograph of me as I wish I looked all the time. Then I might still have a chance of getting to Hollywood. But at present, I'm afraid, I usually look quite different. Anne Frank. 10 Oct. 1942 Sunday" Source: *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (New York: Doubleday, 1989), p. 282.

Dit is een foto, zoals
ik me zou wensen,
altijd zo te zijn.
Dan had ik nog wel
een kans om naar
Holywood te komen.
Anne Frank.
10 Okt. 1942

October 10, 1942. The original text has apparently been both altered and cut. Source: Richard Amdur, *Anne Frank* (New York: Chelsea House, 1992/1993), p. 61.

married Albert Cauvern, a dramatist working for a Dutch radio station. Isa and Albert Cauvern worked on the "diary" manuscript and on the various typescripts. In 1947, the year that the first edition of the "diary" was p ublished in the Netherlands under the title *Het Achterhuis*, she committed suicide, a fact that the Netherlands Institute's "critical edition" does not mention.[6]

Nor is there any analysis, or even a sample, of the manuscript of the short stories attributed to Anne Frank, published as "Tales from the Secret Annex." I had been struck by the appearance of this manuscript: the "Tales" handwriting resembles that of a meticulous elderly accountant. Why, of all the manuscripts attributed to the girl, had this one not been made available to the experts?

Otto Frank

Above all, however, the authors of this "scholarly" edition, by insisting so much on the study of handwritings, have abdicated what ought to have been their main task: the examination of the content. They should have made it their first task to provide the reader with evidence that, contrary to what I had written, the "diary" account actually does mirror a physical or material reality. Moreover, they should have shown that this account, in all the forms of it that we know, is coherent and comprehensible — which is far from the case. But there is no such demonstration. At the beginning of this detailed work, there is indeed an attempt to grapple with the physical or material impossibilities I had pointed out, but this attempt comes to a sudden end. A response is made to a single point: that of the noises, at times quite loud, made by eight persons over a period of more than two years in a small space, presumed to be uninhabited; noises even at night, while "the enemies" are absent, the slightest noise must be avoided and, if someone has a cough, he or she takes codeine. Yet, in the attic, in the middle of the day, Peter cuts wood in front of an open window! My argument on this point is derided: my adversaries dare to respond, in the face of conclusive textual proof to the contrary, that "the enemies" were not there, at this or that precise moment, to hear anything.[7] All of my other arguments are passed over in silence. For his part, Otto Frank, during my meeting with him in 1977, after I had put him in an awkward position with my utterly down-to-earth questions, found no better reply than:

> Mr. Faurisson, you are theoretically and scientifically right. I agree with you one hundred percent ... What you point out to me was, in fact, impossible. But, in practice, it was nevertheless in that way that things happened.

To which I answered that, if he would be so good as to agree with me that a door could not be both open and shut at the same time, it followed that he, in practice, could not have seen a door in such a state. Yet, if I may put it thus, such physical or material impossibilities as simultaneously open and shut doors were already legion in the Anne Frank diary as we knew it at the time. What can one say of the likely growth in number of those impossibilities in the "diaries" (plural)?

A Financial Swindler?

Here is nonetheless a part of this "scholarly" edition that I cannot recommend enough to readers. It is that in which the rather unsettling prewar past of Otto Frank and his brother Herbert is revealed. In a preventive step against a possible revisionist inquiry into the matter, the authors inform us that in 1923 Otto Frank founded, in Frankfurt, a bank called "M. Frank and Sons." The three men who headed this firm were Herbert and Otto Frank and — this detail is of some importance for the story of the Anne Frank diary — one Johannes Kleiman, a man who appears in the diary under the name of Jo Koophuis and who, after the war, was to act as an informer against "collaborators" for the Dutch "Political Criminal Investigation Department."[8] Even before Hitler came to power in January 1933, the bank was implicated in various shady dealings. A trial was held, but Herbert, the principal, chose not to appear. He fled the country, finding refuge in France. As for Otto Frank, the Netherlands Institute authors do not tell us anything clear about what happened to him. They go only so far as to inform us that the relevant court records are missing, and that this is "in any case regrettable,"[9] an observation which lends a somewhat dubious aspect to the documents' disappearance. In any event, Otto Frank may have fled to the Netherlands in 1933 to evade German justice.

Before engaging in a kind of literary swindle, had Frank been involved in financial swindling? During the war, thanks to various subterfuges and to the support of his three main partners (all "Aryans"), he had the satisfaction of seeing his two firms make money in their dealings with, among other concerns, a Dutch mainstay of the Dresdner Bank, one of Germany's largest banking firms. It can be stated that, even during his time in hospital at Auschwitz, his Amsterdam business carried on under the supervision of his associate Jan Gies. Back in Amsterdam after the war, he had a brush

with the Dutch legal authorities, who were very attentive to matters of economic collaboration with Germany during the occupation. But an arrangement, we are told, was found.[10]

Worthless Evidence and Doubtful Witnesses?

The authors of this Netherlands Institute "critical edition" deal severely with the evidence and witnesses advanced by Otto Frank.

To begin with, they consider that the three expert analyses on which Frank based his claim of the diary's authenticity are devoid of any value.[11] Let us recall that those analyses, the absurdity of which I had pointed out, nevertheless received, in the 1960s, the endorsement of German judges, who used them in convicting those who, before me, had cast doubt on the diary's alleged authenticity.

Similarly severe is the appraisal of the Netherlands Institute of Ernst Schnabel's book *Spur eines Kindes* (published in the United States under the title *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*), which Otto Frank had enthusiastically advised me to read, and which also served to defend his argument. According to the Institute's "critical edition" authors: "Since it [Schnabel's book] contains various errors, all quotations from it should be treated with reservation."[12] As for Frank's star witness, the all-too-famous Miep Gies, it is an understatement to say that, on certain vital points of her testimony, she inspires no great confidence at the Netherlands Institute. The same goes for Victor Kugler ("Victor Kraler").[13]

The Netherlands Institute 'Critical Edition' Fiasco

All things considered, the Netherlands Institute's "critical edition" of the Anne Frank diary is a disaster for the late Otto Frank and for his experts, friends, and those who have vouched for him. Clearly, Frank's cause has been deemed indefensible. But, by cutting away the deadwood in an attempt to preserve the tree, that is, by sacrificing Frank's reputation in order to save that of his daughter's alleged diary, the pruners at the Netherlands State Institute have found themselves confronting a kind of nothingness. Only a questionable "handwriting analysis" emerges from it all, which is all the more laughable given that, a few years after the publication of their "critical edition" in 1986, other samples of the girl's writing in various personal letters and postcards appeared on the open market. These samples, which seem genuine to me, have rendered worthless the Netherlands Institute's laborious analyses. In any case, the experts' work must now be reviewed from beginning to end.

Finally, I shall add that this big book contains no plan of the house in which, for more than two years, the eight persons allegedly lived in hiding.[14] Previous editions of the diary did carry such a plan, on which I have commented and which I compared with the house as I found it. This examination provided an argumentation with which to prove the fictitious nature of the whole account. The authors of the "scholarly" edition chose not to include a plan of the house. This is both an admission and an evasion.

In short, behind its show of erudition, this "comprehensive" Netherlands Institute edition is a fiasco.

The 1991 'Definitive' Edition

In the wake of the publication of the Netherlands Institute's study, it was only fitting to issue, for the general readership, a new "standard" edition of the diary to replace the one that Otto Frank had brought out in 1947. There was a real need to repair the damage wrought by the father, damage denounced by the Netherlands Institute. A certain Mirjam Pressler was entrusted with the job and, in 1991, there appeared a revised (*herziene*) and enlarged (*vermeerderde*) Dutch-language edition, which was presented as conforming fundamentally with what Anne Frank had written. This edition was described as "definitive." In 1995 there appeared an English translation — similarly presented as "definitive."[15]

An anomalous note, if not deceptive advertising, appeared on the title page, where the editor had the audacity to write: "The definitive edition... established by Otto H. Frank and Mirjam Pressler." Dead since 1980, Frank could hardly have collaborated with Pressler on this 1991 work — one that, moreover, is for him a posthumous snub. I venture to say that never has a French paperback book been so laden with confused explanations on its title page and introductory page, in its foreword, in the pages of the "note on the present edition" and, finally, in its afterword. One is barely able to make head or tail of it all. The editor's unease is obvious. Clearly he did not know just how to convey to the reader that this new Anne Frank diary is — this time for sure, and once and for all — *the* genuine diary.

We are told that Mirjam Pressler is "a popular, prize-winning writer of books for young readers and a well-known translator," and that she lives in Germany. But we are not told what method she might have employed to establish this text, based on the three texts of the "critical edition." How did she make her choices? What was her reason for keeping one fragment and discarding another? These questions remain unanswered.

I am not alone in noticing these irregularities. Even among aficionados of the legendary figure of Anne Frank, this odd Pressler edition is sometimes criticized, and in forceful terms. Writing in the British monthly *Prospect*, Nicolas Walter devotes three

columns to the English edition. His article bears a title with a double meaning: "Not completely Frank."[16] He observes that the amalgamation of the three versions (the old translation and the two new ones) leaves us "with the result that all sorts of distortions and discrepancies remain." He adds: "The English version is said to be 'basically... as she wrote it,' which is not true, and it is described as the 'definitive edition,' which is nonsense." Walter goes on to write that this "standard" version is indeed "about one third longer" than the old "standard" version, but notes:

> ...it is still an eclectic conflation of A and B [that is, the first two versions of the "critical edition"], and it is marred by errors and omissions; many passages are in the wrong places and several passages are missing.

Walter concludes by asking whether Anne Frank's memory "should not ... be properly served by a satisfactory reading edition of her diary after half a century."

The Afterword by Rosselin-Bobulesco

The 1992 French edition of this new "standard" version includes an afterword by Isabelle Rosselin-Bobulesco that, unhappily, is absent from the English-language edition. The author defends, of course, the argument according to which the "scholarly" edition settled the controversy about the authenticity of Anne Frank's diary — a claim that, as can be seen, amounts to wishful thinking. Still, I recommend reading the section devoted to "The authenticity of the Diary" and, in particular, pages 348-349, where my own position is outlined almost forthrightly, and where reasons for doubting that authenticity, which were inspired by Otto Frank's behavior, are mentioned. I regret only that, at least in the passage that I will quote here, these reasons are presented as if it were a matter of obvious things on which everyone agreed. In reality it was, for the most part, my 1978 analysis that brought to light all that follows in the passage, and which evoked, at the time, all of the attacks on me — attacks that, as can be seen today, were in fact slanders.

Here I yield the floor to Rosselin-Bobulesco, highlighting some of her words:

> At his death, Otto Frank bequeathed all of Anne's writings to the Netherlands State Institute of War Documentation, the RIOD. In the face of the assaults calling the authenticity of the diary into question, the RIOD considered that, in view of the Diary's quasi-symbolic aspect and historical interest, it had become indispensable to allay the doubts. We know that *inaccuracies were not lacking*. The diary was written in several notebooks and on loose-leaf. Anne Frank herself had drafted two versions. There had been *several typed versions that did not entirely follow the original text. Modifications, additions, or removals had been effected by her father. Besides, corrections had been introduced* by persons whom Otto Frank had asked to reread the diary, lest his own insufficient knowledge of Dutch prevent a proper weeding out of his daughter's mistakes in spelling and grammar. Furthermore, the Dutch editor himself had also *modified the text* by *removing* certain passages of a sexual character, deemed at the time to be too shocking, those in which Anne speaks of her menstrual periods, for example. *As for the different translations, they evinced disparities.* There were *inaccuracies* in the German translation, certain passages had been *suppressed* so as not to offend the German reader. The translation had been made from a *typewritten text that was not the definitive text* that had served as the basis for [the original book in Dutch]. In the American edition, certain passages that had been *removed* from the Dutch version had, on the contrary, been *reinserted*. Several expert analyses of the handwritten text were carried out, several lawsuits had been filed, in response to the attacks against the diary. Never had there emerged a clear picture of the situation, even if the outcome of the court cases and of the inquiries upheld Otto Frank.

Isabelle Rosselin-Bobulesco may minimize the actual facts as she wishes, and she may present things in the colors of her choice: all the same, this passage makes clear that I was perfectly well founded in believing neither the text of the alleged Anne Frank diary nor the replies to my questions by Otto Frank.

The December 1998 Amsterdam Judgement Against Me

Nevertheless, on December 9, 1998, a court in Amsterdam found a way to rule against me for my analysis of the diary of Anne Frank. This study, which I drafted 20 years earlier for a German court, had been published since 1980 in France and in a number of other countries without ever prompting legal action. In the Netherlands, however, it will not do to lay an impious hand on the icon of Saint Anne Frank.

The intrepid Siegfried Verbeke had translated my 1978 study into Dutch-Flemish, publishing it in a 1991 brochure entitled "The 'Diary' of Anne Frank: A Critical Approach" (*Het 'Dagboek' van Anne Frank: een kritische benadering*).[17] Verbeke intro-

duced my text with a foreword that was certainly revisionist in character but altogether moderate in tone. Two associations then filed a lawsuit against us: the Anne Frank Foundation in Amsterdam, and the Anne Frank Fund in Basel. These organizations are known for the ruthless war they wage against each other over the corpse of Anne Frank and the remains of her late father, but in this case, faced with danger to their identical financial interests, they decided to make common cause. It must be said that an enormous business has grown up around Anne Frank's name, a veritable "industry," as Nicolas Walter calls it.

The plaintiffs claimed, in particular, that my analysis gave "negative publicity" to their associations, with unpleasant financial results. For example, the Anne Frank Foundation, which runs the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam as a popular tourist center, revealed that it had to spend time and money combatting the booklet's harmful effect. Indeed, my own information leads me to believe that the personnel of the Anne Frank House receive special training enabling them to respond effectively to queries or arguments from visitors who have been influenced by reading Verbeke or Faurisson. The Foundation added:

> Moreover, the statements in the booklet may in the long term cause the number of visitors to Anne Frank House to diminish, with Anne Frank House's management finding itself in difficulties as a result.

In its decision, the court did not fail to adopt, as its own, the plaintiffs' views on "the symbolic function that Anne Frank has acquired," and on the decidedly perverse nature of the revisionists Verbeke and Faurisson. Relying solely on the handwriting analysis requested by the Netherlands State Institute, the Amsterdam court declared that it was impossible to call into question the authenticity of the work attributed to Anne Frank. The court added:

> Toward the victims of the Holocaust and their surviving relatives, the remarks [of Verbeke and Faurisson] are hurtful and needlessly offensive. It follows inescapably that they cause [the survivors] psychological or emotional injury.

Copyright Infringement?!

The most staggering part of the ruling was the court's finding that I had personally breached the law on copyright by quoting numerous extracts from the Anne Frank diary. The court ruled, without citing evidence, that "the quotations [on pages 36-39 of the booklet] are removed from their context in an unwarranted manner." This referred to the beginning of my analysis, that is, the parts I had numbered from four to ten, in which, with a salvo of very brief quotations, I listed the manifold physical or material impossibilities in the "diary." Quite obviously, neither Otto Frank nor anyone else has ever found a reply to this. But that court in Amsterdam found, if not an answer, then at least a way out: in the court's view, my quotations are simply not to be considered because, apparently, they infringe copyright.

In my long experience with law courts, in France and abroad, I have had occasion to witness a good deal of baseness, of sophistry, of warping and twisting the truth, as well as every sort of judicial ploy. Nonetheless, I believe that this Amsterdam court, in its decision of December 9, 1998, overstepped the bounds of decency in rebuking me for having, in a textual analysis, repeatedly quoted from the text. Not one of those quotations, incidentally, had been removed from its context. On the contrary, with painstaking diligence, I had, I believe, demonstrated great care in looking over, as closely as possible, all the words of the text proper, then putting those same words back into their most direct context. But it is likely that the court understood the word "context" in a broad and flexible sense, as too often happens, that is, of a context that is historical, sociological, psychological, and so forth. In doing so, the court, of course, gave its own subjective view of the history or psychology of an Anne Frank whom it conceived in line with its own imagination, without paying the slightest heed to the words that, one by one, constitute a work called the diary of Anne Frank.

A Judgment With the Help of the French Police and Justice System

Verbeke and I were ordered to pay heavy court costs, and the sale of our book was banned in the Netherlands on pain of a fine of 25,000 Dutch guilders per day per copy displayed in public.

Let us add, for the record, that the plaintiffs had the long arm of the law on their side. From Amsterdam, they had gotten the French police to call on me at home in Vichy, had me summoned to the station for questioning, and had bailiffs drop by bearing court orders and formal demands. The French justice ministry's *Service civil de l'entraide judiciaire internationale*, with the French taxpayer footing the bill, worked very well in tandem with the Dutch police.

A Field of Research for Computer Specialists

In 1978 I was not able to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the computer. With pen in hand, I sedulously studied the Anne Frank diary,

searching for certain words that, at times, were far removed from one another, "cutting and pasting" them with scissors and glue, and counting them on my fingers. As a result, there occurred errors of detail on my part that I have sometimes managed to correct. I am aware of the imperfection of the final result as it stands today. It is my hope that, in the future, researchers who are adept with computers will take up my analysis and revise it on those points.

The four editions of the Netherlands Institute (RIOD) diary — one each in Dutch, German, French and English — open up a superb field of research for such people. Working from the old versions in Dutch, German (two German versions!) and French, I was able to demonstrate the existence, as it were, of different Anne Franks, irreconcilable with one another, as well as the existence of contradictory accounts. Today, with the more recent versions from the Netherlands Institute and Mirjam Pressler, persons skilled in the use of computers should find it possible to take apart, bit by bit — and better than I had done — this literary forgery.

For the same can be said of the "diary" of Anne Frank as of any imposture: the more someone strives to defend it, the more he provides, in spite of himself, arguments that discredit it. In other words, by shielding a lie, one becomes ensnared in one's own lies. To take but one example dear to revisionists, the fallacious character of Kurt Gerstein's so-called testimony is exposed just as well by analyzing a single version of it as by comparing it with other, contradictory versions.

But let us be practical: to begin at the beginning of this new job of analyzing the Anne Frank "diary," I suggest that a team of researchers with good computer skills, all possessing a good knowledge of Dutch and German, undertake a comparative study of the following:

1. In Dutch, first the 1947 version (published by Otto Frank under the title *Het Achterhuis*), then the 1986 Netherlands Institute (RIOD) versions, and finally, Mirjam Pressler's 1991 edition.
2. The corresponding German versions, it being understood that, as I discovered in 1978, there appeared, after the version published in 1950 by Lambert Schneider, a slightly different one in 1955, published by Fischer Verlag.

At a later stage, it will still be permissible to carry out an analysis of the different French and English versions and then, to settle the matter for good, there can be a comparison of the ten or so Anne Franks who emerge from all the Dutch versions and various translations.

Only then, and regardless of what the profiteers who have exploited her memory for so long may have to say about it, will justice finally be done to the one, the genuine Anne Frank, who never wrote this "cock-and-bull story," first published in Dutch in 1947 and then published (in its US editions), in 1953 as *The Diary of a Young Girl*, re-christened, in 1986-1989, after renovation and makeshift repairs, *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition*, before ending up being called, in 1995 (for English readers), after much patching and façade work, *The Diary of a Young Girl: The Definitive Edition*, by "Anne Frank."

Post scriptum

On pages 94-96 of the US edition of the Netherlands Institute's "Critical Edition," David Barnouw proclaims that he has summarized what he is willing to call my analysis, but not without insinuating that I am a trickster.

Of all my material or physical arguments, he responds to only one, that of the loud noises made by those hiding in the "Annex." Then, of all the instances of noises I cite, he deals with only three. He claims that, in these three cases, I concealed the fact that Anne Frank specified that, because the "enemies" were not nearby, there was no risk of the noises being heard. My reply is that perhaps the nearby "enemies" (for example, the two shop assistants) weren't there, but that the other "enemies," indefinite in number, could have heard those noises: that of the vacuum cleaner, every day at 12:30 p.m., as well as the "endless peals of laughter" or "a doomsday racket." Barnouw is much distressed at having to explain these noises and others, sometimes dreadfully loud, in a dwelling where the stillness of the grave should have prevailed. Additionally, he resorts to ruminations as diffuse as they are murky, to spare himself effort as well as to mislead. He writes:[18]

> From the diary it appears that the inhabitants of the Annexe, too, had to brave many dangers, not least the chance that they might make too much noise and be overheard. Faurisson, however, did not examine the overall picture of life in hiding in any depth, or concern himself greatly in this context with the fact that the Frank family and their fellow fugitives were in the end arrested.

Here Barnouw evinces a pathos that allows him to conclude shamelessly: "Given the above extract [of Faurisson's analysis of the question of noise], we have no need to subject all the examples mentioned by Faurisson to review." In my opinion, this last remark is proof that the Netherlands Institute authorities, by their own admission, have not wished to "submit to review" an essential part of my

analysis, that which concerns the physical or material impossibilities of the account.

On another point Barnouw insinuates that I am dishonest. On page 261 of Serge Thion's book, I had mentioned my discovery, during my investigation into the circumstances of the arrest of the eight fugitives in Amsterdam on August 4, 1944, of an especially interesting witness. I wrote:

> This witness [in 1978] made us promise, myself and the person accompanying me, not to divulge her name. I gave her my word to keep it secret. I shall only half keep my promise. The importance of her testimony is such that it seems to me to be impossible to pass over it in silence. This witness's name and address, together with the name and address of the person accompanying me, are recorded [on a paper] in a sealed envelope contained in my "Appendix no. 2: Confidential" [for submission to the court in Hamburg].

Barnouw begins by quoting these lines, but not without excising the sentence which revealed the reason for my discretion: the witness had made us promise — that was the word — not to name her. Then Barnouw adds deceitfully:

> A photograph of this sealed envelope is printed as an appendix to Faurisson's "investigation," albeit only in the French version of 1980; the publisher of the Dutch version had the sense to leave out this piece of evidence.

In other words, Barnouw suggests, I had fooled my readers, leading them to believe, by means of this alleged trick, that the envelope in reality contained no names. Barnouw suggests that this envelope, if it ever even existed, was empty. The truth is that I had indeed submitted to the court in Hamburg an envelope containing the names and addresses of the two persons in question. Today, 22 years later, I believe myself justified in divulging these names, which have long been known to the court: Mrs. Karl Silberbauer and Mr. Ernst Wilmersdorf, both of whom lived in Vienna.

On this occasion I will also reveal the names of three French academics of whom it is stated, on page 299 of the Thion book, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?,* that they concurred with my findings on the alleged diary of Anne Frank. The first is Michel Le Guern, a professor of literature who at the time was lecturing at the University of Lyon-2 and who has recently published, in the prestigious "Bibliothèque de la Pléiade" series, a scholarly edition of Blaise Pascal's *Pensées*. It would be difficult to think of a more proficient authority on literary analysis.

The closing sentence of Le Guern's written testimony of 1978 reads as follows:

> It is certain that the conventions of literary exchange authorize Mr. Frank, or anyone else, to put together as many fictitious personae of Anne Frank as he may wish, but on condition that he not identify any of these fictional beings as the real Anne Frank.

Two other academics were about to come to a similar conclusion when suddenly, in November 1978, the "affaire Faurisson" exploded in the press. They are Frédéric Deloffre and Jacques Rougeot, both professors at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne.

Today these three men are all retired. That is why I have decided to reveal their names. I had not, in any case, given them any pledge of confidentiality.

Notes

1. Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980), pp. 213-300. This essay, "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?," was published in English in the Summer 1982 *Journal* (vol. 3, no. 2), pp. 147-209. See also: R. Faurisson, "Anne Frank's Handwriting," Spring 1989 *Journal* (vol. 9, no. 1), pp. 97-101; M. Weber, "Anne Frank," May-June 1995 *Journal* (vol. 15, no. 3), p. 31.

   In 1989, 1993 and 1995, respectively, I wrote three items dealing with a work that claimed to disprove my findings. These three items may be found in my *Ecrits révisionnistes 1974-1998*, a four-volume collection of my revisionist writings, privately published by me in 1999 for restricted distribution: pp. 856-859, 1551-1552, 1655-1656.
2. Interview in *Regards*, weekly of the Centre communautaire juif of Brussels, November 7, 1980, p. 11. Among his many publications, Pierre Vidal-Naquet is author of the anti-revisionist book *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust*, which is reviewed by M. Weber in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 36-39.
3. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (New York: Doubleday, 1989). David Barnouw and Gerrold van der Stroom, eds. "Prepared by the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation."
4. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (New York: 1989), cited above, p. 166 ("Afterword"). The German and French editions were published in 1988 and 1989 respectively. I have in my possession these four bulky volumes, that is, the Dutch original and the three translations. Comparisons between them reveal some odd differences.
5. These can be seen in *The Journal of Historical Review*, along with articles by Faurisson: Summer 1982 *Journal*, p. 209, and Spring 1989 *Journal*, pp. 99-100.
6. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989),

cited above, pp. 63-64.

7. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 95-96.
8. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 30-31. This agency is not to be confused with the "Supervisory Board for Political Offenders," mentioned on p. 34.
9. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, p. 4.
10. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 15, 55-56.
11. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 88-90.
12. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, p. 19, n. 41.
13. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 36-45.
14. Of the various language editions of the "critical edition," there is a partial plan of the "Annex" house only in the English-language edition. See: *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, p. 213. This plan is only for three floors, whereas the house actually had five (as I have shown in the photographs I published, for example, in S. Thion's book, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?*).
15. Anne Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl: The Definitive Edition*, (New York: Doubleday, 1995.) "Edited by Otto H. Frank and Mirjam Pressler." Translated by Susan Massotty.
16. *Prospect*, August-September 1997, p. 75. *Prospect* is aimed at an intellectual and academic readership.
17. See "A Belgian Foundation Battles for Free Speech," Jan.-Feb. 1996 Journal, p. 46.
18. This and the following quotes or citations in this "*Post scriptum*" section are from *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 94-96.

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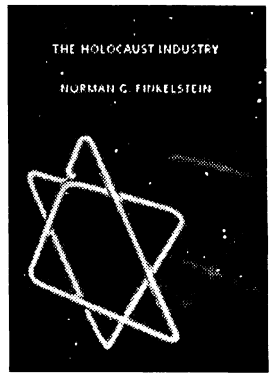

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Historical Past vs. Political Present

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

"A Holocaust museum is built in Washington. Sixty-five million people watch 'Schindler's List.' The German president apologizes to Israel. Then what can you say about these guys who say the Holocaust never happened? They're a fringe movement of charlatans."
— Michael Berenbaum, identified as "a distinguished professor of Holocaust studies at Clark University," quoted in Forward, *April 14, 2000, p. 20. Berenbaum has also served as director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and director of Steven Spielberg's Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation.*

"The Pope deposes and crowns emperors and excommunicates kings to bend them to his will. England, Denmark, Hungary, Poland, Portugal and other lands are papal vassals. The schism with Constantinople has ended. The Pope's Lateran Council has not only acted to clarify the practice of the Faith and moved against heresy, but has also established rules for education and instituted long overdue reforms in the civil law. Then what can you say about these guys who say the Donation of Constantine is a forgery? They're a fringe movement of charlatans."
— A non-existent commentator in 1216 A.D., in a statement concocted by this author in 2000 A.D.

In this paper I wish to focus on three broad subjects, making remarks of general interest.

1. My attempt to use the archives of the Berlin Document Center.
2. Some writings of mine that have been objects of ridicule. There are things to learn by taking another look, and I won't apologize.
3. Some things that came out of the Wilkomirski affair that deserve more stress than they have been given till now, and which raise basic questions on the nature of our disagreements with our adversaries, and we should have no illusions that that is the right word.

1. The Berlin Document Center

From 1945 to 1953 the western Allies gathered the surviving records of the Nazi Party, and affiliated organizations such the SS, into a collection that was housed at the "Berlin Document Center" (BDC) under the jurisdiction of the US Army. In 1953 jurisdiction was transferred to the US Department of State. The expenses of operating the BDC were borne by the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG or West Germany).[1]

Most of the records at the BDC were biographical files, such as Nazi Party membership records and SS personnel files. Some non-biographical records were transferred to the FRG in 1959-1962, many after being microfilmed by the American Historical Association or the Hoover Institution for the use of scholars.

In 1989 the Bundestag of the FRG unanimously requested the transfer of the BDC files to German control. An agreement to do this, effective July 1, 1994, was reached in October 1993, subject to the condition that all records would first be microfilmed, at German expense, the microfilms being turned over to the US National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). In the process the BDC system of "finding aids" was to be reproduced, and a computer data base of the files was to be created, for the use of NARA.[2]

I was happy to hear of this development, but I became alarmed when I read in a September 1994 publication of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL):[3]

> The League is working with Members of Congress and non-governmental representatives to establish a group to monitor access to Nazi documents and records which were recently transferred to the control of the German government. The records, the largest and most valuable collection of materials documenting the Third Reich, are stored in the Berlin Document Center.

The correct interpretation of "monitor access"

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. In addition to numerous technical papers, Dr. Butz is the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, first published in 1976.

This article, copyright (c) by A.R. Butz, is slightly revised from his address delivered on May 27, 2000, at the 13th IHR Conference, in Irvine, California.

Arthur Butz speaking at the 13th IHR Conference, May 27, 2000.

was not clear. The most obvious interpretation, and the one that alarmed me, was that access to the NARA microfilm files would be effectively blocked to revisionists and other unapproved prying eyes.

The ADL and other Jewish representatives had testified in the congressional hearings on the transfer in April 1994. However in these hearings the only concern relevant to monitoring was a concern that the Germans may not permit free access to their original files while the microfilming was in progress, following warnings by Gerald Posner in a *New Yorker* article.[4] My worry did not appear to be confirmed by these hearings.

Recently I sought to use the NARA BDC collection for a specific purpose. The famous internal SS investigation of Konrad Morgen netted Karl Koch, commandant of Buchenwald, Amon Goeth, commandant of Plaszow, of "Schindler's List" notoriety, and a number of smaller fry, one of them being the head of the Gestapo office at the Auschwitz concentration camp, SS-*Untersturmführer* (Second Lieutenant) Maximilian Grabner. All the SS personnel arrested were charged with corruption, and it is said that Grabner was charged in addition with murdering either 40 or 2,000 prisoners, receiving a death sentence later commuted to twelve years in prison.[5] In some versions of the Grabner story, his trial was postponed and never concluded.[6] Grabner was executed by the Poles in 1947.[7]

Since it is obvious that prosecution by the SS, for murder, of the head of the Gestapo office at Auschwitz does not harmonize with the claim that thousands were killed daily at that camp, I wanted to clarify just what the charges against Grabner were and how they were disposed of. The BDC collection was the obvious source to consult. I wanted his service record.

The BDC archives are vast. There is a published hard copy index for 177 of the 40,000 rolls of microfilm, this index covering mainly non-biographical records.[8] I found no help on the Grabner problem there. The really attractive possibility seemed to be the computerized index, which had been promised in the congressional hearings by Dr. Lewis Bellardo of NARA, who assured the hearings that[9]

> we will make records available to all categories of non-government researchers on an equal basis. There will be no "scholarly research" requirement for access ... A final note relating to access is that this microfilm is accompanied by a computerized index. The index in conjunction with the microfilm allows the researcher to search much more quickly for a selected file than if the search had to be conducted using manual indexes and paper records.

In these days of e-everything I thought I was entitled to assume that the computerized index was accessible through the NARA web site (www.nara.gov) but I could not find it there. An e-mail address for inquiry was given, however, so I inquired about access to the computerized index. I was told that

> Unfortunately, the computerized index worked fine in Berlin, but not here in the US. So it is not available. We do have rolls lists for all the microfilm, however, showing first and last names on each roll. But there are many separate collections comprising the BDC microfilm, so multiple searches of microfilm are usually necessary. How can we help you further?

I then inquired whether the computerized index is available on a web server in Berlin, and the answer was: "No, it was never meant to be online for the public, just for in-house use."

Having exhausted all possibilities of searching the BDC files myself, I told the NARA staffer that I was looking for the service record of Grabner. He could not find it, explaining that "Not all the SS records survived the war," but he found one document that at least mentioned Grabner as head of the Gestapo office at Auschwitz. He sent it to me but it shed no light on the problem of interest.

The NARA staffer seemed to be as helpful as he reasonably could be. The impediments I encoun-

tered were not put there by him, but they are there nevertheless. I noticed no mechanism for keeping revisionists out, but I was disappointed. The promises in Lewis Bellardo's congressional hearings testimony have not been kept, and it is very difficult for US-based individual researchers to search the BDC files without spending a prohibitive amount of time examining rolls of microfilm.

As for the computerized index that works in Berlin but not elsewhere, the situation seems ludicrous. If the data exists in electronic form, it can be set up to be accessed and searched on the Internet with appropriate software design requiring an effort only a fraction of what was required to compile the index in the first place. It is not clear to me whether the Germans use the computerized index. If they do, I doubt they would be cooperative with requests from abroad for searches, since NARA does not seem to have access to the index itself. As for the option of a revisionist going to Germany to use the computerized index, the Leuchter, Irving and Töben cases make that a bad joke.

In summary, it may be just an accident that the situation is bad for revisionists, but in any case it is bad.

It was taken for granted in the preceding that computer and Internet usage is now a commonplace in the gathering of information. Despite the lack of a Berlin Documents Center online search function, a development of recent years has been the availability of much information on the web. The information can be computer searched, with or without downloading. Some good archives that I have downloaded for that purpose have been the Adelaide Institute newsletters (www.adelaideinstitute.org), the English translation of *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (www.vho.org), *Dissecting the Holocaust*,[10] and the Irving-Lipstadt trial transcripts (www.fpp.co.uk/online.html). Searching these sources may not bring up exactly the information you want, but even then you may get pointed in the right direction.

There are many other documents at these sites and also the CODOH (www.codoh.com) and IHR (www.ihr.org) web sites, but you have to be selective in downloading specific articles. I look forward to Robert Faurisson's four volume *Écrits Révisionnistes* becoming available in electronic form. Dare I also hope for an English translation?

One can also search the web without downloading. In this connection I should mention the search engines available on Germar Rudolf's web site, at www.vho.org/Search/searchRev.html, and on the IHR site at www.ihr.org. These search the main revisionist web sites for search terms supplied by the user. However in most cases when research is being done then a limitation in a web search to only revisionist web sites does not seem wise to me. The well known search engines such as Altavista have a general scope. One of the big problems with such general searches is that they often return thousands of unhelpful and/or irrelevant sites, but careful choice of search terms can mitigate this problem.

2. Some Ridicule of Butz

During his recent trial David Irving made available on his web site the "expert opinion" that Robert Jan Van Pelt prepared for Irving's adversaries in the trial. This raises historiographic issues in the sense of how conclusions should be drawn from historical data. I read some of this and I was surprised, as others have been, to see Van Pelt claim that the roles of Auschwitz, Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka as extermination camps were "moral certainties." In his report he appears to define "moral certainty" as something between "beyond reasonable doubt" and "unqualified certainty," but then he applies it to the claims of the legend in connection with Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka, while admitting that the evidence is scant for those places. Thus I am not sure how to interpret the phrase as he uses it, and he probably isn't either.[11]

In any case I read part of Van Pelt's report, including the part dealing with my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, and the reading confirmed the inference, that has been made before by me and others, that the Auschwitz legend rests entirely on alleged eye witness accounts. The "extermination" cannot be deduced, or even suspected, from the documents, from the ordinary historical record of how the principals behaved, or from physical evidence at the site. All of the material means that play a role in the legend (for example, Zyklon, crematories) have in fact non-homicidal interpretations, with dual homicidal interpretations being supplied by the alleged eye witnesses. Van Pelt's report also confirms the opinion I expressed many years ago, that in these debates[12] we must maintain context and perspective and above all be on our guard against being tricked into quarreling so much over details that we lose sight of simple observations, as I shall explain.[13]

I think it is fair to say that today the defenders of the legend argue, with an exception to be noted, not that available forensic evidence shows that the gassings took place, but that it was possible that they took place. This is something that must be inferred from their writings, because they don't put it that way and maintain an air of dogmatic certainty. A good example is their defense against the Leuchter and later investigations relating to cyanide residues in the crematoria at Auschwitz.[14] In the most honest versions of their defense they concede the main point, namely that the residues are

very scarce in the alleged homicidal gas chamber in the crematory structures, but exist in abundance in the walls of a nearby delousing gas chamber, in the form of iron-cyanide compounds. Then they argue in effect, employing largely unsupported technical assertions and making adjustments in "eye witness" testimonies, that the results do not exclude that people were gassed in the structures in question.[15]

In my 1992 IHR conference paper I said that the procedure is like sawing off a tree limb that one is sitting on.[16] The logic is circuitous. We are told to believe the gassing stories, not because the documents and physical evidence say so, but because the witnesses say so. Then we are told that we should make some adjustments in the accounts of the witnesses, because features of their testimonies are inconsistent with the alleged fact of the gassings.

A dishonest version of their defense is to ignore the delousing gas chamber issue entirely, as is done in the Errol Morris film on Fred Leuchter entitled "Mr. Death"; at least, that was how it was handled in the version I saw last February. Another instance of this dishonesty, which could perhaps be dismissed as blazingly stupid rather than dishonest, was taken in that 1994 report of the Institute of Forensic Research in Cracow.[17] The argument, to the extent that it was intelligible enough to be summarized at all, was that they did not understand how the iron-cyanide compounds got to be there, so they decided to ignore them in reaching their conclusions. I don't understand how the moon got there, so I will ignore all effects associated with it, such as tides. I hope I don't drown.

Revisionists have carried this point as far as necessary. The legend's defenders are claiming "events continental in geographic scope, of three years in temporal scope, and of several million in scope of victims,"[18] and they must provide commensurate evidence. They are claiming events that by their nature and scale would leave emphatic commensurate evidence, physical and otherwise. A few witnesses won't do, just as they wouldn't do if the claim were that New York City burned down. When we dissect such witness testimony we play a game in which larger issues are not at stake. Never forget that. If I can't offhand find internal contradictions in the testimony of a man who claims that New York City burned down, you would not conclude that it did burn down.

Van Pelt's report resurrected the defense of the legend offered in Michael Shermer's article a few years ago in his *Skeptic* magazine.[19] In his critique of revisionism Shermer chose to give prominence to the unusual word "consilience," apparently coined in 1840 by the English philosopher William Whewell. The word has been used more recently as the title of a book by Edward O. Wilson to mean "a

Michael Shermer, editor-publisher of Skeptic magazine.

'jumping together' of knowledge by the linking of facts and fact based theory across disciplines to create a common groundwork of explanation," or in Whewell's words what "takes place when an Induction, obtained from one class of facts, coincides with an Induction, obtained from another different class. This consilience is a test of the Theory in which it occurs." Wilson's book argues for the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the social sciences and the humanities, to achieve a grand synthesis.[20]

Shermer also proposes to apply a test of a "convergence of evidence" as "a less cumbersome phrase." I think that is also a more acceptable phrase than "consilience," because the various classes of evidence that Shermer considers are not from diverse fields of study. They are the usual sources that have been assembled by those who have been specifically interested in pressing the genocide claim.

If a true "convergence of evidence" is sought then we must of course consider the behavior of the Allies at the time, the behavior of the Red Cross, the behavior of the Vatican, the behavior of the German opposition to Hitler, the behavior of the Jewish organizations, the vast numbers of Jews in Europe immediately after the war, many in camps and bound for Palestine, the USA, and other destina-

tions (often employing concealment and deception in regard to their numbers and identities), the contemporaneous German documents, the aerial photos, the lack of physical evidence for "extermination," and the lack of evidence for engineering design projects to create equipment for the extermination of large numbers of human beings in gas chambers (remember it hadn't been done before - they say the Germans silently adapted other means to the novel and gigantic undertaking). That is a real test of convergence. Long ago, I wrote an article presenting this convergence of evidence, though I didn't call it that. The article was entitled "Context and Perspective in the Holocaust Controversy," and was given in lecture form at the IHR conference in 1982.[21]

Though he says the test of historical truth is a "convergence of evidence," Shermer presents first only "A Case Study in Convergence" and then explains that "it is not possible in a magazine-length article to adequately cover all of the points made above" (that is, the general case for convergence). How is it, then, that I say that I wrote an article presenting a convergence of evidence, but Shermer could not? It is very simple. I could refer to other works on how the Allies acted, how the Vatican acted, how the Jewish organizations acted, and so forth. Books had been written about massive Jewish movements after World War II, and virtually all books on the subject acknowledge that an extermination program is not to be found in the German documents. All studies of the German concentration camps acknowledge the high death rates due to disease, the use of Zyklon for hygienic purposes, and the cremation of the victims. Other investigators, virtually all of whom would have rejected my conclusions, had done the work for me. Shermer said he could not present the convergence because he was only writing an article. I say he couldn't present it because it wasn't there.

Shermer avoided considering how the various principals acted; that perspective is missing. He could not find any scholarship to correspond to the massive scholarship that supports the revisionist observations, such as "nobody acted as if it was happening," or "at the end of the war, the Jews were still there," or "the German documents speak of a program of expulsion and resettlement," or "catastrophic death scenes in the camps in 1945 were fraudulently represented as evidence of intentional extermination." On our adversaries' side, there are only such things as "leading Nazis said...," or "all historians say...," or "survivors say," or "Höss confessed that," or "this inmate testified that."

Having been unable to argue "convergence," Shermer examines two special subjects: Nazi statements about exterminating or annihilating Jews and the gas chamber/crematoria issue. Thus he ends up arguing special points rather than convergence.

He begins with the occasional Nazi use of the German word "*Ausrottung*" (extermination) in application to the Jews. He is right in saying that the standard translation is "extermination"; moreover the standard translation of "*Vernichtung*," also sometimes used by Nazis, is "annihilation." However in actual practice in English both words can be used in contexts where they are not taken to mean killing, and a further complication is that the Nazis were notorious for hyperbole or rhetorical inflation; for example, everything they did had to be the "greatest," or "most glorious," and so forth.

Without realizing it Shermer demolishes his case on this matter with a February 18, 1937, quote from Himmler, addressing a meeting of his Gruppenführers:[22]

> I have the conviction that the Roman emperors, who exterminated (*ausrotteten*) the first Christians, did precisely what we are doing with the Communists. These Christians were at that time the vilest scum, which the city accommodated, the vilest Jewish people, the vilest Bolsheviks there were.

Shermer's problem is that it does indeed seem that Himmler is claiming that he is physically exterminating Communists and/or Jews, and there were many of both in Germany then. It would be very difficult to argue, on the basis of internal analysis, against such an interpretation. However Germany was not doing such things in 1937. Communist leaders and other political enemies had only been put into concentration camps.

If Himmler can seem to claim mass killings that did not actually exist, where does that place later occasional comparable statements by him and other Nazi leaders? In a discussion of this problem in my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* I remarked that in connection with comparable statements Hitler "could have chosen his words more carefully."[23] I have been a butt of ridicule for that passage, but I stand by the statement and the analysis.

The second special subject that Shermer takes up is the gas chamber/crematory issue, which has given rise to a second basis for ridicule of my work, as I shall explain. However the general issue has been well worked over in other revisionist writings and I shall not take it up here. I only remark in this connection that Shermer misrepresented the results of the forensic investigations discussed above, by claiming that "forensic tests have now been conducted demonstrating the homicidal use of both the gas chambers and the crematoria for the express purpose of exterminating large numbers of

prisoners." That is an amazing lie that the other defenders of the legend are not guilty of, as far as I know.[24]

It is common for promoters and defenders of the legend to focus only on Germany, an elementary historiographic error. Alas, revisionists also commit it. When there is a focus elsewhere, the scope of the exposition is similarly limited. For example a treatise excoriating the wartime Pope, for not acting as though a "Holocaust" were in progress, will not properly take into account that nobody else so acted.

A focus distributed on all principals can throw light on what may seem mysterious or enigmatic if considered out of its historical context. In another phase of his discourse on the use of the word *"Ausrottung,"* Shermer reproduces and discusses a memo from Rudolf Brandt, a member of *Reichsführer SS* Himmler's personal staff, to the chief of the security police and SD in Berlin, Ernst Kaltenbrunner, dated February 22, 1943.[25] It says "On the instructions of the Reichsführer-SS, I am transmitting herewith to you a press dispatch on the accelerated extermination (*Ausrottung*) of the Jews in occupied Europe." Shermer did not point out, though his source did, that the press report involved was the story that appeared eight days earlier, on February 14, 1943, in both the London *Times* and the *New York Times*, headed in the latter case "Execution 'Speed-Up' Seen," and on which the *New York Times* commented editorially on February 18.[26] Both Shermer and his source consider the document incriminating, but I can't see why mere transmission of a story implies acceptance of it as truth. I often send a revisionist some piece of Holocaust propaganda without insulting the other's intelligence by explaining to him that I think its claims are false. In the case of the Brandt letter, the press report referred to there figured in a clash later in 1943 between the US State Department and Henry Morgenthau's Treasury Department, because the former considered the story, received from Jewish sources in Switzerland, bunk, and sat on it, as I discussed long ago in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century.*[27] There is no reason to assume Himmler thought otherwise of it.

History should be written in cognizance of all principals, and in the case of the "Holocaust" legend the conclusion such evidence converges to is obvious. The legend's defenders got jolted in the early 80s. For example Walter Laqueur used ordinary historical methods in his study focused on Auschwitz, entitled *The Terrible Secret*, and the result was a book that, with just a little bit of tweaking, would be a revisionist book. Laqueur merely applied ordinary historical methods and common sense to observe that mass exterminations at Auschwitz were a "terrible secret," that is, not generally known, and that mass exterminations at Auschwitz could not have been kept secret. While Laqueur did not draw the obvious conclusion, the fact remains that he had simply taken the sort of historical and logical perspective that otherwise proves to us that New York City did not burn down, and excuses us from considering the claims of alleged eye witnesses who might say otherwise.

Ordinary historical analysis can't find a "Holocaust." They pretend to find it with the methods of funny history. Don't forget that either.

Nevertheless we should not ignore their narrow selection of evidence, especially because final comprehension of it can elucidate unpredictable matters. A special emphasis in Van Pelt's critique of my work is on the difficulties I have had, over the years, with one document. I am speaking of the *"Vergasungskeller"* document that I have spoken and written of before, so I will not repeat myself unnecessarily.[28] Suffice it to say that my 1976 book offered an interpretation that was linguistically and technically sound, but turned out to be wrong, my 1992 IHR conference paper speculated on various interpretations that made technical sense but did not fix on any one, and my 1996-1997 paper proposed that the *"Vergasungskeller"* was a reference to a basement morgue in crematory structure (*Krema*) II in Auschwitz-Birkenau, in its secondary role as a gas shelter. Van Pelt tries to present my fluctuating interpretations on this one document as ridiculous.

The point I want to make right now is not the right interpretation of the document in question. In reading Van Pelt a contrast occurred to me. I could not imagine Van Pelt or any of the other defenders of the legend giving such an extended treatment, over many years, to the interpretation of a single document. Why the difference? I think it is because for us problematic documents are exceptions or aberrations. We let documents mean what they say so that for us, for example, the countless German documents speaking of the Jewish policy as one of emigration mean what they say. "Sonderbehandlung," special treatment, has no necessary homicidal interpretation. A shower is just that, as is a morgue.

On their side, one of the hermeneutic principles (to use a more charitable term than "methods of funny history") is that documents are to be interpreted under the *a priori* constraint that the policy was one of extermination. Another arbitrary constraint that I have inferred is that the number of Jews killed must have been at least four million, though no scientifically acceptable evidence supports such a figure, or even half that.

That being the case, the only sorts of problems they can have with document interpretation are which of the several fixes to apply in specific cases.

They are playing with a deck of Jokers. The document may have been in code language, or it may have been written by a person in ignorance of real policies, or, as in the case of crematory construction, the hygienic purposes expressed in the documents may have been genuine at the time the documents were written, but an undocumented decision was later made to apply the equipment otherwise. All these fixes are reasoned in terms of the *a priori* constraints, and apply to the corpus of records of several governments. They accuse us of dismissing any document that does not fit our preconceptions. They dismiss more than 99 percent of the written historical record.

Binjamin Wilkomirski

If they run into a document with a single word they like, then they pounce on that word, ignoring what the document says, as they do with the *Vergasungskeller* document, whose natural meaning is that the Germans were in a rush to get the crematory into operation as a normal crematory. They claim that the appearance of the allegedly incriminating word was an "enormous gaff" (sic) or a "leak."[29]

"...The idea that the Germans did not consign the extermination program to writing because it would be incriminating ... [is] silly."

That is also done in the case of a document that refers to hydrocyanic acid (HCN) gas detectors for an Auschwitz crematory that are supposed to be supplied by the furnace maker Topf. They like the reference to HCN, the lethal ingredient in Zyklon. However they do not observe that the Topf role challenges the assumption that the HCN in this case had anything to do with Zyklon, because there already existed a special department at Auschwitz with the relevant expertise and equipment for the use of Zyklon.[30]

I wish that somebody would make an objective evaluation only of the hermeneutics of the defense of the legend. I do not mean an evaluation of the merits of its conclusions. I mean only an evaluation of the historiographic logic and methods that are employed. I prefer that such an evaluation be carried out by somebody in no camp on "Holocaust" controversy. I have already indicated what I think of their methods and logic, and this is what I meant earlier when I said that "we must maintain context and perspective and above all be on our guard against being tricked into quarreling so much over details that we lose sight of simple observations." It is permissible, or at least I hope it is, to become enthralled with the problems of interpreting a single document, but we must not lose sight of the reasons why the defenders of the legend do not have such problems.

As for the idea that the Germans did not consign the extermination program to writing because *it* would be incriminating, I have on other occasions tried to express how silly that idea is.[31] Moreover this claim clashes with the claim (by Shermer, for example) that leading Nazis publicly admitted physical extermination, because such public admissions would obviate the need for code language in confidential government documents. At a 1989 conference at Northwestern University on the "Holocaust," those who wished to ask questions were required to identify themselves before asking. I was recognized by the chairman, rose and identified myself, and asked speaker Saul Friedländer the following: "I want you to clarify something you said earlier. Do you believe that the German leaders calculated that the European Jews could be exterminated in secrecy?" After listening to my question he refused to answer, claiming that I have no respect for the norms of intellectual discourse, or words to that effect.[32]

3. Wilkomirski and What it Means

Here it will be seen that the Wilkomirski affair relates directly to the issues of interpretation I have just discussed.

The story of the impostor "Binjamin Wilkomirski" has been generally well known for almost two years, but new revelations were coming out as late as last fall. I think there are some aspects of it that deserve added stress and contemplation. There is more here that the tale of a con man being nabbed.

In 1996 a book appeared, authored by Binjamin Wilkomirski, entitled *Fragments: Memories of a Childhood 1939-1948*. It had been published the previous year, in its original German. In this book the author related that he was born a Jew in Latvia and was separated from his parents at age three, was sent to German concentration camps, to Majdanek, then Auschwitz, where he endured a living hell. Liberated at the end of the war, he was adopted by a Swiss family named Dössekker, from which he took the name Bruno Dössekker. His memoirs, which immediately won wide acclaim, were promoted by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and won the National Jewish Book Award for 1996.

In France his book won the Prix Mémoire de la Shoah, and in Britain the *Jewish Quarterly* literary prize.

Eventually his tale was supported by a woman named Laura Grabowski, who said she was also a Jewish survivor of Auschwitz and remembered Wilkomirski: "He's my Binji, that's all I know," she said.[33] She had her own tale of suffering at Auschwitz at the hands of Josef Mengele and other Germans, and the scars to prove it. Wilkomirski and Grabowski went on lecture and concert tours individually and together.

Raul Hilberg appears to have been an early skeptic. Swiss Jewish journalist Daniel Ganzfried heard rumors that Wilkomirski's story was not true. He investigated and determined that the Latvian Jew "Binjamin Wilkomirski" was actually a Swiss gentile, born on February 12, 1941, to an unwed Swiss mother named Yvonne Berthe Grosjean, and later adopted by the Dössekker family. He was never incarcerated at Auschwitz. Ganzfried's expose was published in the Swiss weekly *Weltwoche* during August and September 1998. Wilkomirski subsequently refused to submit to a DNA comparison with Max Grosjean, Yvonne's brother.[34]

Laura Grabowski was exposed as a fraud in October 1999 by the Christian magazine *Cornerstone*. Her real name was Laurel Rose Willson, born to Christian parents on August 14, 1941, in Washington state, and of course she was never incarcerated at Auschwitz. She had earlier written books under the name Lauren Stratford, claiming she had suffered ritual satanic abuse, citing the same scars which she later claimed were inflicted by Mengele. (The scars were apparently self-inflicted.) As such she appeared on talk shows such as Oprah to relate her ordeals. When she decided that she would also be Laura Grabowski, she transposed the stories of ritual satanic abuse to the new setting Auschwitz.[35]

An important observation is that the downfalls of Dössekker and Willson did not come about because their claimed experiences were determined to be phony. Though Ganzfried and others thought there was something fishy about Wilkomirski's story in itself, for example, his claim that as a lone Jewish child, four years old, he was able to survive the "Holocaust," they were nailed on the issue of identity. They are gentiles who were not in a German concentration camp during World War II; they only visited them years later.

They are contrasted for example to Elie Wiesel, who cannot be discredited on the basis of identity, since he is a Jew who was actually interned at Auschwitz. Against Wiesel's concoctions society has yet to develop an effective defense, by listening to revisionists instead of its current leaders. Wilkomirski's *Fragments* is no more or less plausible, in itself,

Elie Wiesel

than Wiesel's *Night*. For example, Wiesel admitted in Chapter 5 that, when the Germans evacuated Auschwitz, he had the option of staying at the hospital, with his father registered as a patient, to await the Soviets. He chose rather to join the evacuation, taking his father with him, on a predictably difficult journey to another German concentration camp. That is as implausible as anything in Wilkomirski's book if one is to believe Wiesel's tale of the horrors inflicted by the Germans at Auschwitz. His story also has the claim, common among the "eye witnesses," that the crematories at Auschwitz belched flames from the chimneys (Ch. 3). Crematories do not operate that way, and such flames are not seen on any of the aerial photos of the camp. His claim to have seen piles of children being burned by the Germans at Auschwitz is lifted from the Talmud, with the Romans replaced by the Germans.[36] I could go on and on about Wiesel's absurdities, but I won't. I recommend reading Faurisson's 1993 leaflet about him.[37] My point right now is that Wilkomirski was discredited only on the basis of identity. We can also observe that the Wilkomirski book shows that the filthy imagination that was required to create Elie Wiesel's *Night* is not unique to Jews.

What I now want to focus on is the amazing obstinacy of many people in supporting these two, especially Wilkomirski, long after they had been exposed. After Ganzfried published his expose "he received several complaints from Jews who said that, even if Mr. Wilkomirski turns out not to be a survivor, Mr. Ganzfried is feeding the fires of those

who deny the Holocaust." Deborah Lipstadt, who used Wilkomirski's book in her course at Emory University, said that if Wilkomirski is a phony it "might complicate matters somewhat. But [the book] is still powerful" as a novel.[38]

There was no attempt to rescind his National Jewish Book Award. Norman Finkelstein has discussed this phenomenon recently, recalling Elie Wiesel's earlier obstinate loyalty to Jerzy Kosinski long after his 1965 "basic Holocaust text," *The Painted Bird*, was exposed as a fraud. (Kosinski committed suicide in 1991, perhaps because his fraud had been exposed a few years before by Polish journalist Johanna Siedlecka.) Finkelstein noted that Yisrael Gutman, a director of the Yad Vashem center in Jerusalem, has said it isn't important that the Wilkomirski yarn is a fraud: "Wilkomirski has written a story which he has experienced deeply; that's for sure... He is not a fake. He is someone who lives this story very deeply in his soul. The pain is authentic."[39] Another Yad Vashem official who defended the Wilkomirski book when the controversy erupted was Lea Balint.[40] Bear in mind that Yad Vashem holds itself to be the central and official repository of "survivor" accounts.

Willson had her devoted friend and supporter in Jennifer Rosenberg, who ran the Holocaust web site www.holocaust.about.com as a counterweight to revisionist web sites. Grabowski-Willson befriended Rosenberg and helped her run the site. On her site Rosenberg related that, before she visited Auschwitz, Laura Grabowski gave her a pair of pink sandals to leave at the crematorium in memory of her childhood friend, Anna, who Laura said died there.

Rosenberg maintained her friendship with Laura for at least five months after Laura was exposed as a fraud, claiming that the imposture was unimportant and not being sure what to do about the posted story of the pink shoes:[41]

> "Whether I can say this is true or not true, I would have to do my own research." Ms. Rosenberg says, and adds that she is too busy to do so. Of Laura, whom she still considers a friend, she says, "She's a very sincere and sweet person."
>
> "If it isn't real, and if Anna isn't real, there are so many young children and babies who went through that... It really was a metaphor for the children. For Laura, it was for Anna. I did it for the children. When I did it I was obviously doing it for Anna, but seeing it there, it was also for all the children, the loss of life, what they should have had, could have had."
>
> "I don't want to be involved in this... My main goal is to educate people on the Holocaust." Ms. Rosenberg says she expends significant energy deleting messages with links to the sites of Holocaust deniers such as Mr. Irving and otherwise blocking correspondents who undermine the historical record. Postings to the bulletin board are not pre-screened, so sometimes a denier's comments show up before she can remove them. To keep them away entirely, Ms. Rosenberg says, "I would have to have a 24-hour shift."
>
> Laura Grabowski knew that censoring the discussion would amount to more than a full time job (so) she said she volunteered to help Ms. Rosenberg monitor the discussion late at night, since she had insomnia. Ms. Rosenberg taught her how.

I think Rosenberg's position is that "to educate people on the Holocaust" consists in suppressing revisionist views, and not being concerned about those views and stories that sound more or less like the usual yarns. Impostors and con-artists such as Wilkomirski and Grabowski are thus not seen as people "who undermine the historical record," even after exposure. As for the web site, its url has been changed to http://history1900s.about.com. On 21 April I took the "Holocaust" link there and used the site's search function to try to find mention of the pink shoes or Laura Grabowski but I couldn't. I assume that mention of them has been deleted, and Rosenberg has finally lost her friend.

The most significant of all these obstinate friends is, I believe, the American Orthopsychiatric Association (the "Ortho"), an organization of psychiatrists who specialize in various forms of abuse and persecution, especially of children. In March 1999, about six months after Ganzfried's expose, the Ortho announced that at its April 10 meeting it would honor Binjamin Wilkomirski with its Max A. Hayman award "to celebrate work done to increase our understanding of genocide and the Holocaust." Naturally there was great controversy on the appropriateness of this award, both inside and outside the Ortho. Wilkomirski had the support of psychiatry professor Dori Laub, a scholar long associated with Yale's Holocaust-testimony video archive. Laub argued that the award "re-establishes the priority of human experience and memory" over the written documentation preferred by historians, though the award leaves open the question of the authenticity of Wilkomirski's account. There is no doubt that Wilkomirski's work was "being taken seriously among therapists who treat Holocaust survivors," and in fact Wilkomirski has worked "with Israeli psychiatrist Elitsur Bernstein in developing 'an interdisciplinary therapy' to treat such child survivors"; a paper by Wilkomirski and Bernstein was

well received at a 1998 Holocaust conference at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana. Ortho member Harvey Peskin, identified as "a Holocaust scholar and psychotherapist," argued that Wilkomirski's account can be accepted as true because it is "consistent with the memories of other child survivors and with the historical record." Though Peskin conceded that Wilkomirski could be a phony he argued, and I think I am summarizing him right on this, that denunciation or rejection of Wilkomirski could discourage real Holocaust survivors from coming forward, and would be hurtful to them in any case. He wrote "such disparagement of witness gives comfort to a new revisionism that no longer attacks the truth of the Holocaust itself but only individual claims of survival" and "Wilkomirski [is] then not only disbelieved, but [his] cause cannot be left standing: ... to urge the child survivor's recovery of forfeited personal identity through raveling a daunting trail of unforfeited Holocaust memory."[42]

Wilkomirski accepted the award at the April 10 meeting, to the standing applause of the attendees, the gist of whose reactions being that his memoirs are essentially true. Lea Balint of the Yad Vashem, an enthusiastic supporter from the beginning and faithful to the end, e-mailed Wilkomirski that "You deserve this award."[43] I apologize for repeating that Yad Vashem holds itself to be the central and official repository of "survivor" accounts, but the point is important, in view of the crucial role such testimonies play in supporting the legend. This was not the first time Yad Vashem got mud in its eye for publicly backing a phony, as it vouched for the witnesses who in 1987 testified in Israel to John Demjanjuk operating a gas chamber at Treblinka. Demjanjuk was later proved to have not been at Treblinka, and released in 1993.[44]

Cynthia Ozick, a New York writer who has authored an anti-revisionist Holocaust play, *The Shawl*, which was not well received by critics,[45] reacted to the award by declaring "If Mr. Wilkomirski is indeed a fabricator, then to laud him is to take a stand — politically — on the side of those who insist that the Holocaust is a fabrication."[46] There is a partial truth in this. I accept the core of the analysis of the psychiatrists who supported the award, in the sense of agreeing that Wilkomirski's account does indeed sound a lot like those of the "survivors" who have testified to atrocious German cruelties in the camps, though I would prefer to turn that around: the accounts of those survivors sound a lot like Wilkomirski's. Because of the Ortho award, you now have that evaluation from a group of professional psychiatrists. Where that leaves the Holocaust peddlers, whose foundation is the accounts of "eye witnesses," is obvious.

That is the first lesson to draw from the Wilkomirski episode that goes beyond a "tale of a con man being nabbed." The second lesson relates to a question that I raised at the Adelaide conference in 1998. The immediate occasion was some remarks about Deborah Lipstadt that had been made earlier:[47]

> Earlier today we heard of a concern from their camp that I have heard many times before. This time it was expressed by Deborah Lipstadt: the "survivors" are now dying off at such an alarming rate that it will soon be difficult to confound the revisionists. Such a view can only be advanced in hysteria, because of what it tacitly admits. No sane person would fear that, because all those alive at the time of the US Civil War are now dead, it will be difficult to confound those who might deny it happened. The defenders of the hoax have quite lost their grip on historical reality, and on what it means for something to "happen" in real time and real space.

Lipstadt has many times expressed the view of which I spoke.[48] There have been others, an example being Deborah Dwork, co-author with Van Pelt of a book on the history of Auschwitz and head of the Holocaust studies program at Clark University in Massachusetts.[49] A related view is expressed in the Berenbaum remark that heads this paper; his argument, that the Holocaust obviously happened, appeals only to well known events of the 90s. I classify these as related views because they imagine the "Holocaust" as something that exists more substantially in the present rather than the past. The Wilkomirski episode forces my thoughts to return to this point. Does our dispute with the defenders of the entrenched legend arise not over what happened, but over what it means for something to "happen"? Is the dispute metaphysical rather than historical? Or is it neither?

My question is urgently practical. If I must try to express in comprehensible terms the metaphysical principle suggested by Lipstadt and many of the defenders of Wilkomirski and Grabowski, I would say it is the idea that "happen" means something like "said, with emotion and apparent conviction, to happen," or perhaps "believed fervently to have happened," though both of these descriptions necessarily fall short, as I cannot empathize with the mentality involved. This interpretation is reinforced by the religious function played by the "Holocaust," which many have observed. Religious faith is self-validating, impervious to reason, and regards proposals to scientifically validate its claims as profane in all senses of the word.

In the recent film about Fred Leuchter, the Jew Van Pelt expresses offense that, by entering the

ruins of a crematorium at Auschwitz, Leuchter had transgressed on "the holy of holies." That expression has a specific historical and liturgical meaning in Judaism as the "Kodesh Kadashim," being the most sacred chamber housing the Ark of the Covenant in, while the Jews were wandering, the Tabernacle, and later in the Temple, and which only the high priest could enter.[50] It is in that sense that one must interpret Elie Wiesel's remark "Let the gas chambers remain closed to prying eyes, and to imagination."[51] The Temple and the Ark no longer exist; some act as though the ruins at Auschwitz can substitute. In any case, no revisionist would qualify as the high priest.

That might be considered a neat explanation of our differences with the promoters of the legend, but after some consideration I can't accept it, at least not in its simplicity. For one thing, it is not simple. That I have given an interpretation in terms of religious myth may only seem to make the matter more familiar, but I think it has really made it more elusive. It is understood, of course, that I am not speaking here of the historical problems; I am only trying to understand our adversaries.

The complication is that we think of religion as universal and other worldly. Judaism, by contrast, is a tribal religion of this world, in which contention with gentiles is a major ingredient, both in practice and in myth (for example, their "cheerfully reported genocidal wars", as Wilson puts it[52]). As Kevin MacDonald writes, Judaism is among other things "a group evolutionary (and) reproductive strategy that facilitates resource competition by Jews with the gentile host society."[53] We have nothing in our religious experiences that begins to resemble those of a Jew in relation to Judaism. I believe that, excluding from consideration some idiots, their idea of what it means for something to happen is about the same as ours, but there is a paucity of evidence for what they want to claim happened. As shown by the Laqueur book, the facts of the past do not support them, and they will avoid Laqueur's path henceforth. However they do possess the present, politically. That is emphatically expressed in the Berenbaum outburst that opened this paper. A cold calculation shows that a strong weapon in promoting the legend is bawling "survivors" who will not be challenged because to do so would only increase the hurt to them.[54] Kosinski and Wilkomirski may be frauds but, hey, we don't want people to develop a habit of reading such writings critically. That concern simmered, not very well hidden, in the defense of the "Ortho" award to Wilkomirski. People may even start wondering about Elie Wiesel, as did Alfred Kazin, who accused Wiesel, Primo Levi and Jerzy Kosinski "of 'making a fortune off the Holocaust' and inventing atrocities."[55] They may even start wondering about those Auschwitz alleged eye witness testimonies, and the Auschwitz legend doesn't have much else.

A variation on the "survivor" is the person who claims to have lost relatives. Usually the right answer to their challenge "What happened to them?" is "I don't know." That should end the exchange. In rare cases it may be possible, over time, to nail a liar. The case of Leo Laufer in Dallas comes to mind, but even in that case the nailing could not have been accomplished in a verbal exchange between strangers.[56]

In many circumstances it is better to possess the present than the past, but the whole point of history is the past. That is what revisionists talk about.

"... We think of religion as universal and other worldly. Judaism, by contrast, is a tribal religion of this world, in which contention with gentiles is a major ingredient, both in practice and in myth ..."

Now I will close by rendering my simple opinion on the Wilkomirski controversy: both sides were right, and the revisionists are right as well. To see how this can be possible, consider in analogy the revisionist assessment of a not very hypothetical debate on whether or not Hitler knew of an extermination program, a controversy that David Irving started in 1977 with his *Hitler's War*. One side says the evidence shows that Hitler did not know. The other side argues that events on the scale of the "Holocaust" would have to have become known by Hitler. The two sides can't possibly agree because they are both right and know it. Only the revisionist can explain why there is no contradiction in saying both are right, but only provided it is understood that the revisionist is right.

If I may return to Laqueur, a similar seeming contradiction arose as a paradox, because the same man held what appeared to him to be two contradictory opinions: mass exterminations at Auschwitz were a "terrible secret," and mass exterminations at Auschwitz could not have been kept secret. Only the revisionist sees that there is no contradiction. Laqueur is right on both counts, but of course given his preconceptions he was unable to resolve the contradiction and left the subject. Again, the revisionist resolves the seeming contradiction.

Consider the dispute over the wartime role of Pope Pius XII. One side says he did nothing against the "Holocaust." The other side says he gave as

much help as reasonably possible to the Jews. The dispute is illusory. Both sides are right, as is the revisionist, but only the revisionist has the key. There was no Holocaust for the Pope to act against.

Holocaust revisionism hovered constantly, usually in the background but there nevertheless, in the Wilkomirski controversy. Both sides were right, and of course the revisionists are right, with the new twist that the accusations hurled by the two sides explicitly accuse the other of helping the revisionists. One side says Wilkomirski is a phony; the other says his account emphatically sounds like those that have been accepted as authentic. The dispute is illusory. Both sides are right and so is the revisionist. All accounts comparable to Wilkomirski's are phony. One side says Wilkomirski is an impostor, and defense of him helps the revisionists. The other side says that, even if Wilkomirski is an impostor, rejection of him stains and discourages survivor testimony generally, giving rise "to a new revisionism"; for reasons I have explained that also helps the old revisionism. Both sides are right; the revisionist case is advanced however one reacts to Wilkomirski's fall after his brief dance in the ghoulish spotlight of Holocaustomania adulation.

Notes

1. Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, "U.S.-German Agreement on the Transfer to German Control of Nazi Party Records in the Berlin Document Center," Hearing before the subcommittee on international security, international organizations and human affairs, April 28, 1994 (US Government Printing Office, 1994, ISBN 0-16-044867-0), p. 41.
2. Comm. on Foreign Affairs, "U.S.-German Agreement ...," same source, pp. 42, 89.
3. *ADL on the Frontline*, Sept. 1994, p. 15.
4. Committee on Foreign Affairs, "U.S.-German Agreement ...," cited above.
5. Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle 1939-1945* (New York: Henry Holt, 1990), pp. 537, 542, 544, 723f, 812, 819.
6. A. Strzelecki, "The Plunder of Victims and Their Corpses," in Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 257f.
7. D. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, cited above, p. 812.
8. Irving Horn, ed., *Berlin Document Center Library microfilms; annotated finding aid*, (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1998).
9. Committee on Foreign Affairs, "U.S.-German Agreement ...," cited above, pp. 88f.
10. "Ernst Gauss" (Germar Rudolf), ed., *Dissecting the Holocaust: The Growing Critique of "Truth" and Memory* (P.O. Box 64; Capshaw, Alabama 35742; USA; Theses and Dissertations Press, 2000; www.tadp.org) [Also available from the IHR.]
11. Van Pelt dealt with the concept of "moral certainty" on pp. 8, 14, 183 and 218 of the pdf version of his report as posted on David Irving's web site at one time. I assume that the report will eventually be published as a book. The reports of Van Pelt and other Lipstadt witnesses are now posted on her web site. Take the "Evidence" link at http://www.HolocaustDenialOnTrial.org.
12. There are rarely literal "debates" in the sense of direct encounters; an exception is the Mark Weber - Michael Shermer debate in 1995. I am speaking of the implicit debates that occur when the two sides comment on the other's writings.
13. Arthur R. Butz, "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust Controversy," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982 (vol. 3, no. 4), pp. 371-405. Posted on the IHR web site at www.ihr.org/jhr/v03/v03p371_Butz.html. This paper was originally delivered at the IHR conference in 1982. It has been subsequently reproduced as a supplement in recent printings of my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. It has appeared recently in German (translated by the Swiss revisionist Jürgen Graf), in *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, Dec. 1999 (vol. 3, no. 4), pp. 393-410 (Castle Hill Publishers; PO Box 118; Hastings TN34 3ZQ; England); this German translation has been posted on Germar Rudolf's web site at http://vho.org/VffG/1999/4/Butz391-410.html. A French translation is also to be found there at http://www.vho.org/F/j/RHR/2/Butz87-137.html. An Italian translation, "Contesto storico e prospettiva d'insieme nella controversia dell 'Olocausto'," was published in 1999 by Graphos; Campetto 4; 16123 Genoa, Italy.
14. See Germar Rudolf's recent comments at www.vho.org/GB/Contributions/RudolfOnVanPelt.html.
15. Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), pp. 16, 53.
16. A. R. Butz, "Some Thoughts on Pressac's Opus," *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1993, pp. 23-37.
17. J. Markiewicz, W. Gubala and J. Labedz, "A study of the cyanide compounds content in the walls of the gas chambers in the former Auschwitz and Birkenau concentration camps," *Z. Zagadnien Nauk Sadowych*, vol. 30, 1994, pp. 17-27. I assume the report is still available from the Dept. of Forensic Toxicology, Institute of Forensic Research in Cracow; Westerplatte St. 9; 31-033 Cracow; Poland. See Germar Rudolf's discussion at www.vho.org/GB/Contribtions/Fraudulent.html. Rudolf considers the Polish report "one of the big scientific frauds of the twentieth century." I wouldn't grant it even that much dignity.
18. A. R. Butz, "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust Controversy," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982, cited above.
19. Michael Shermer, "Proving the Holocaust," *Skeptic*, vol. 2, no. 4, 1994, pp. 32-57. See also: Michael

Shermer and Alex Grobman, *Denying History* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 2000).

20. Edward O. Wilson, *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), esp. pp. 8-12, 266+.
21. A. R. Butz, "Context and Perspective ...," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982, cited above.
22. M. Shermer, "Proving the Holocaust," *Skeptic*, vol. 2, no. 4, 1994, cited above, p. 48. Shermer gives the slightly erroneous date January 1937. His source is Peter Padfield, *Himmler: Reichsführer-SS*, (New York: Henry Holt, 1991), pp. 185,188. Padfield gives as source US National Archives microfilm class T-175, Roll 89, frames 1869ff.
23. A. R. Butz, *The Hoax*, cited above, p. 73.
24. M. Shermer, "Proving the Holocaust," *Skeptic*, 1994, cited above, pp. 51f.
25. M. Shermer, "Proving the Holocaust," *Skeptic*, 1994, cited above, pp. 44ff.
26. David Irving, *Hitler's War* (New York: Viking, 1977), p. 867.
27. A. R. Butz, *The Hoax*, cited above, pp. 62-66, 78.
28. A. R. Butz, "The Nagging 'Gassing Cellar' Problem," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1997 (vol. 1, no. 4), pp. 20-23. A more recent version is to be found at my web site http://pubweb.northwestern.edu/~abutz/di/dau/vk.html. The paper first appeared on the web on August 6, 1996.
29. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), cited above, p. 217. J.-C. Pressac and R.-J. Van Pelt, "The Machinery of Mass Murder at Auschwitz," in Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1994), p. 227.
30. My views on this problem, also discussed by Van Pelt, were first expressed on my web site (http://pubweb.nwu.edu/~abutz/di/dau/detect.html) on March 4, 1997, and published in revised form in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1997, pp. 24-30. See Carlo Mattogno's related article at www.codoh.com/gcgv/gcgvpruf.html. Mattogno does a rather more thorough job than I did in showing that the desired gas detectors could not have had anything to do with Zyklon, but his conclusion, that the document in question is a forgery, is not mine.
31. A. R. Butz, "Context and Perspective ...," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982, cited above.
32. *Daily Northwestern*, November 17, 1989, pp. 1,6. In the *Daily Northwestern*, Nov. 28, 1989, p. 6, campus Hillel Rabbi Michael Balinsky claimed that the "poor acoustics ... prevented the speaker, Saul Friedländer, and others from realizing who had asked the question. I immediately called out in a loud voice that it was Butz, and Friedländer responded that he would not answer the question." That was a lie. The acoustics were excellent and indeed after I identified myself there was a general gasping by the audience, shocked that I was there. The gasping had died down however when I asked my question, which Friedländer heard in its entirety. However Balinsky was correct in saying that Friedländer refused to answer after Balinsky interrupted, rising without recognition to tell Friedländer, not that it was Butz, but that there was no need to answer Butz. There was an unusually long time interval between the publication of Balinsky's letter on Nov. 28, and the Nov. 17 editorial he was responding to. This may be explained by the fact that the Tuesday, Nov. 28 issue of the student newspaper was nearly the last for the calendar year, as final examinations and the Christmas break loomed. I wrote a letter in reply, but of course by the time publication was resumed in early January the matter was passé, so the letter was not published and Balinsky's lie went unchallenged. That probably explains the "unusually long time interval."
33. *The New York Times,* Dec. 29, 1999, p. E5. [See also: "Holocaust Survivor Memoir Exposed as Fraud," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1998, pp. 15-16.]
34. E. Lappin, "The Man With Two Heads," *Granta*, no. 66, Summer 1999, pp. 7-65.
35. See the Christian magazine *Cornerstone* (ISSN 0275-2743), vol. 28, no. 117 (1999), pp. 12-16,18. It was posted at *Cornerstone Magazine Online* (www.cornerstonemag.com/home.htm) on Oct. 13, 1999, and reported in the Jewish weekly *Forward*, Oct. 15, 1999, p. 1.
36. I discussed the Talmudic features of the Holocaust yarns in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, pp. 246f. Wiesel has been immersed in Talmud, as discussed in *The New York Times*, Nov. 10,1989, in a review of a PBS - TV interview of Wiesel, and as discussed in the *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 31, 1995, book review section, pp. 1f.
37. Robert Faurisson, "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel," Oct. 1993, reproduced at http://ihr.org/leaflets/wiesel.html.
38. *Forward* (New York), Sept. 18, 1998, p. 1.
39. N. Finkelstein, "The Holocaust Industry," *Index on Censorship* (London), April 2000, Issue 2/2000, pp. 120+. See also his recent book, *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering* (London and New York: Verso, 2000), esp. pp. 55-58.
40. *Forward*, Sept. 18, 1998, p 1.
41. The quoted material about Rosenberg was in *Forward*, March 17, 2000, p. 1.
42. *Forward*, March 19, 1999, p. 1; April 9, 1999, p. 2; *The Nation*, April 19, 1999, pp. 34-38. Peskin's article entitled "Memory and Media," in *Readings: A Journal of Reviews and Commentary in Mental Health* (a publication of the Ortho), Dec. 1999, pp. 18-23, is remarkable in attempting to discredit the motives of Wilkomirski's detractors, and the effects of their actions. This article places him unambiguously in the camp of those who say that Wilkomirski's real identity is unimportant, because he has contributed greatly to increase awareness where it is needed.

43. *Forward*, April 16, 1999, p. 20.
44. I discuss this at http://pubweb.nwu.edu/~abutz/di/dj/jpwar.html and jkrak.html.
45. *The New York Times*, June 16, 1996, sec. 2, p. 6; June 21, 1996, p. C1; July 5, 1997, p. 11. I have not seen this play but I can't resist passing along some information from the review of June 21, 1996. The revisionist in the play is a certain Garner Globalis who "belongs to a Midwestern think tank that exists to disprove that the Holocaust ever took place." In one scene Globalis, confronting camp survivor Stella, "kisses the number tattooed on Stella's arm, promising a sensual erasure of all that number signifies."
46. *Commentary*, June 1999, p. 7.
47. *Adelaide Institute* (newsletter, ISSN 1440-9828), no. 82, Nov. 1998, p. 1. Reproduced in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1998 (vol. 17, no. 6), pp. 2f.
48. She expressed the view in a January 16, 2000, CNN program on the Irving trial. Tom Segev, in an article in the English edition of *Ha'aretz*, February 4, 2000, reported her belief that when "there will be no more survivors left ... the influence of the Holocaust deniers is liable to increase." The same view was attributed to her in an article by Elli Wohlgelernter in the *Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 24, 1999, "Friday" section, p. B5; my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* is described as "the turning point" in the development of Holocaust revisionism ("Holocaust denial" to Lipstadt).
49. *Newsday* (Long Island), Dec. 6, 1999, p. A13. Dwork's argument is self-promoting. She thinks that academic programs such as hers must get more support to compensate for gradually disappearing survivors: "the actuarial tables are an extra strong argument for the establishment of serious scholarship in academia."
50. Dagobert D. Runes, *Concise Dictionary of Judaism* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1966), pp. 65, 114.
51. Elie Wiesel, *All Rivers Run to the Sea. Memoirs* (New York: Random House, 1995), p. 74.
52. E. O. Wilson, *Consilience* (1998), cited above, p. 6.
53. Kevin MacDonald, *A People That Shall Dwell Alone.: Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy*, (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994), pp. *ix-x*. Related books by MacDonald are *The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements* (Praeger, 1998), and *Separation and Its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Anti-Semitism* (Praeger, 1998) [Reviewed in the May-June 1998 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 28-27.]
54. I once used this strategy myself. Among the many lies I told when I was a child, there was one I told a teacher once. I don't remember the specific circumstances or the teacher, but my problem had to do with a failure to do something. My excuse was "death in the family." I got away with it, as the teacher did not want to risk increasing my hurt. I had probably picked up the tactic from a radio program or movie. I plead that I am sure I used the trick only once, and was ashamed of it. Our enemies use it over and over in promoting their extermination legend. The existence of such protestations of hurt is also used to argue that revisionists should not be heard or published. For example Northwestern University history professor Peter Hayes assumed a gutter posture when he told a meeting of students that "he sympathizes with students who might show up to heckle" me if I were to give a lecture on Holocaust revisionism, since "We're talking about something that people who live around here have relatives and loved ones involved in." *Daily Northwestern*, May 1, 1991, p. 5.
55. *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 31, 1995, book review section, pp. 1f.
56. Leo Laufer, a Dallas man, read a column in 1977 about my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* and wrote a letter to the editor (*Dallas Times-Herald*, Feb. 10, 1977, p. B3. This newspaper is now defunct.). He said he spent two years as an inmate at Auschwitz, and repeated the long discredited yarn that the Germans made soap out of Jews, claiming even that he was still in possession of samples of this soap. He also made a claim that would normally be impossible to discredit. He said he "lost (his) entire family of two brothers, three sisters, (his) father and mother, and aunts and uncles." Such a claim can carry some weight in public controversy, because of course nobody wants to contradict a stranger about the history of his own family. However that was not the end of the matter. In 1994 Laufer wrote another letter (*Dallas Morning News*, April 20, 1994, p. 18A.). There he described himself as "a Holocaust survivor who lost the entire family — father, mother, three brothers, four sisters and not counting hundreds of family members." His story gained two dead siblings in the interim.

Thanks

We've stirred up things a lot since the first issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* came out in the spring of 1980 — 21 years ago. Without the staunch support of you, our subscribers, it couldn't have survived. So please keep sending those clippings, the helpful and critical comments on our work, the informative articles, and the extra boost over and above the subscription price. It's our life blood. To everyone who has helped keep the *Journal* alive, our sincerest thanks.

"In general the art of government consists in taking as much money as possible from one class of citizens to give to the other."

— Voltaire

John Sack's Defective *Esquire* Article

An important sign that Holocaust revisionism is having a greater impact on society at large is the seemingly more respectful coverage that revisionists are receiving in the mainstream media. One example is the detailed, objectively written report on the May 2000 Institute for Historical Review Conference that appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* (May 30), one of America's most influential daily papers. Written by a veteran journalist who attended the entire three-day gathering, the 40-column-inch article enraged Jewish community figures. (See the detailed report, "Thirteenth IHR Conference: A Resounding Success," in the May-June 2000 *Journal*.)

A more recent example of such coverage is an eleven-page article in the February 2001 issue of *Esquire*, a slick, literate and prestigious monthly magazine with a national circulation of some 600,000. Written by seasoned journalist and author John Sack, "Inside the Bunker" is based largely on the Jewish author's observations and role as a speaker at the May 2000 IHR Conference in Irvine, California.

Opinion within the revisionist community about this first-person article has ranged from joyful approval to disgust. Among its positive features, Sack contrasts the open-mindedness of revisionists with the bigotry and hatred he's found at Jewish gatherings, deftly deflating such sanctimonious icons as Elie Wiesel and Edgar Bronfman:

> Despite their take on the Holocaust, they [revisionists] were affable, open-minded, intelligent, intellectual. Their eyes weren't fires of unapproachable certitude and their lips weren't lemon twists of astringent hate. Nazis and neo-Nazis they didn't seem to be. Nor did they seem anti-Semites ...
>
> ... I wanted to say something therapeutic [at the IHR Conference], to say something about hate. At the hotel [where the Conference took place], I'd seen none of it, certainly less than I'd seen when Jews were speaking of Germans. No one had ever said anything remotely like Elie Wiesel, "Every Jew, somewhere in his being, should set aside a zone of hate — healthy, virile hate — for what persists in the Germans," and no one had said anything like Edgar Bronfman, the president of the World Jewish Congress. A shocked professor told Bronfman once, "You're teaching a whole generation to hate thousands of Germans," and Bronfman replied, "No, I'm teaching a whole generation to hate *millions* of Germans." Jew hatred like that German hatred, or like the German hatred I saw on every page of [Daniel Goldhagen's] *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, I saw absolutely none of...

Sack also acknowledges that many specific points made over the years by revisionists ("deniers") are, indeed, true:

> ... The Holocaust deniers say — and they're right — that one Auschwitz commandant [Rudolf Höss] confessed after he was tortured and that the other [Holocaust] reports are full of bias, rumors, exaggerations and other preposterous matters, to quote the editor of a Jewish magazine five years after the war. The deniers say, and again they're right, that the commandants, doctors, SS, and Jews at Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, and whole alphabet of camps testified after the war that there were cyanide chambers at those camps that all historians today refute.

Sack takes note of the way in which the Holocaust campaign has skewed our historical perspective:

> Americans who don't know if one hundred thousand, two hundred thousand or one million of our own soldiers died (and certainly don't know that fifty million people died in China) know exactly how many Jews died in World War II. Once, said Michael Berenbaum, the former research director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, "the Holocaust was a side story of World War II. Now one thinks of World War II as a background story [to] the Holocaust." Among many ways Jewish leaders accomplished this was to tap out an SOS, an all-points alarm, whenever in any dark corner they spotted a knavish denier.

Also here, perhaps for the first time ever, a nationally-circulated American magazine disapprovingly informs readers that in a number of countries individuals are routinely fined, jailed, and driven into exile for expressing views on Second World War history that, in at least some cases, are demonstrably true. Writes Sack:

> Sixteen ... [revisionist] speakers spoke ... [at the IHR Conference] and I'd counted six who'd run afoul of the law because of their disbelief in the Holocaust and the death apparatus in Auschwitz. To profess this in anyone's earshot is illegal not just in Germany but in Holland, Belgium, France, Spain, Switzerland, Austria, Poland and Israel, where denying the Holo-

caust can get you five years, while denying God can get you just one. One speaker, David Irving, had been fined $18,000 for saying aloud in Germany that one of the cyanide chambers at Auschwitz is a replica built by the Poles after the war. A replica it truly is, but truth in these matters is no defense in Germany. Another speaker, a Frenchman, had been fined in France, and another speaker, a German, had been sentenced to fourteen months in Germany ... but had fled to England. Another speaker, an Australian, had come from seven months in a German jail for writing in Australia (alas, on the Internet, which Germans in Germany can read) that there were no cyanide chambers in Auschwitz... The fifth speaker was a Swiss, a man ... who'll go to jail for three months in Switzerland for questioning the Auschwitz cyanide chambers.

On the debit side, Sack's *Esquire* article contains such errors or distortions of reality that it amounts to deceit. Already in the opening sentences, which set the tone of the entire piece, he takes a gratuitous and untrue swipe at the IHR, calling it "the central asylum for the delusion that the Germans didn't kill any Jews and that the Holocaust is, quote unquote, the Hoax of the Twentieth Century..." Throughout his patronizing piece, Sack uses the epithet "deniers" to refer to Holocaust revisionists or skeptics.

Sack's half-humorously mentions the IHR's conference security measures as if they were an expression of groundless paranoia. In fact, Jewish thugs — most notably, the band of Zionist misfits who call themselves the Jewish Defense League — have threatened, harassed, and intimidated several hotels into canceling IHR meetings. Similarly unmentioned by Sack is the July 4, 1984, arson attack that devastated the IHR's offices and warehouse.

Sack refers to several revisionist scholars who addressed the IHR Conference — Robert Faurisson, Germar Rudolf, Jürgen Graf and Fredrick Töben — but *without mentioning their names*. Similarly, none of the three IHR staff members who addressed the Conference is mentioned by name. Also ignored is former Congressman Pete McCloskey, who in his banquet address spoke in detail about Jewish-Zionist censorship, lies and underhanded manipulations.

Instead, Sack devotes considerable attention to Charles Provan, a forthright and diligent part-time historical researcher who runs a printing business in a small town in western Pennsylvania. Contrary to the impression given by Sack, Provan is actually a peripheral figure *in the* Holocaust debate.

John Sack

Misleading Photographs

For many people, perhaps most, the first and strongest impression of any magazine article is made by the accompanying pictures. In this case the four large color photographs that illustrate Sack's article are about as misleading as pictures can be. While Sack describes revisionists as "affable, open-minded, intelligent, intellectual," the photographs portray them as odd, unfriendly and vaguely sinister. Everyone looks grim. No one is smiling.

Leading off the article is a full-page photograph of Charles Provan with his wife and seven of their ten children. They look like a poverty-stricken, intellectually challenged clan from the "Deliverance" backwoods of Georgia. Even the youngsters are frowning, and two are barefoot.

Whereas Sack describes Ernst Zündel, accurately, as "eternally jolly," a large photograph shows him scowling and hostile, seated in a sinisterly lighted car next to an equally unsmiling Ingrid Rimland. This may well be the most unrepresentative picture of Zündel ever to appear in print.

Probably the greatest failing of Sack's article is to portray Holocaust revisionism as a semi-cultic fellowship of *belief*. Even though, as already noted, he grants that many specific revisionist arguments or points are valid, Sack simply ignores the impressive body of well-researched *scholarship* that girds revisionist skepticism. He compares reasoned, well-grounded skepticism of fantastic Holocaust claims to his own frivolous belief that living dinosaurs today roam hidden valleys somewhere in central Africa.

In the years to come, there will doubtless be more articles and books similar to Sack's *Esquire* contribution — a piece that, in spite of its errors and defects, is another basically positive landmark in a protracted struggle.

— *M. W.*

John Schmitz, RIP

A good friend of the Institute for Historical Review, John Schmitz, has died. The former US Congressman, Marine Corps officer and political science teacher is remembered with respect by both friend and foe alike as an articulate, witty and fervent champion of his conservative principles.

He died of cancer on January 10, 2001, at the National Naval Medical Center in Bethesda, Maryland, surrounded by his family. He was 70. His body was laid to rest with military honors at Arlington National Cemetery.

John Schmitz

Schmitz attended at least two IHR Conferences, and was a subscriber for many years to the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*. From time to time bought extra copies to give away to friends.

He provided crucial help to the Institute during the difficult Ninth IHR Conference in February 1989. A day before the meeting was set to begin, the southern California hotel where it was to be held cancelled the contract, caving in to threats and intimidation by the Jewish Defense League (JDL). Another hotel was quickly found, but it too succumbed to JDL intimidation. Following the two cancellations, and with no alternative hotel willing to stand up to JDL threats, the speakers and attendees who were arriving from across the country and abroad had no place to meet. It seemed that the Conference might be cancelled just as it was to begin. In this emergency, Schmitz contacted Joe Bischof, a friend who owned the Old World shopping center in nearby Huntington Beach. Bischof graciously offered his facilities, and the Ninth IHR Conference — one of the most spirited ever — was held in a packed basement meeting room, in spite of continued harassment by JDL thugs.

Also in 1989, when the IHR suddenly needed a lawyer to replace one who had abruptly quit, it was Schmitz who recommended his friend, Bill Hulsy, who ever since has served as the IHR's main corporate attorney. (Bill Hulsy and his wife, Karen, had been long-time friends of the Schmitz's, who were god-parents of the Hulsys' daughter.)

John George Schmitz was born in August 1930 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in the US Marine Corps in 1952. After earning his pilot wings in 1954, he was assigned to a base in North Carolina, flying F2H4 Banshees and F9F8 Cougars in the first operational Marine Corps jet fighter squadron. He subsequently qualified as a helicopter pilot, served as officer in charge of a unit in Mt. Fuji, Japan. For a time he lectured on Communism at the Fleet Marine Force Pacific Leadership School at the El Toro Marine Corps base in southern California. In the Reserves, he rose to the rank of Colonel, and served as commanding officer of a unit at the El Toro base.

He first made headlines in 1962 while stationed in southern California as a Marine officer. With nothing more than the sheer authority of his voice, he disarmed an attacker who *was* stabbing a woman near the El Toro base.

His career in public service — which would eventually span 18 years — began in 1964 when, at the age of 34, he was elected as the Republican state senator from Orange County, then nationally known as a conservative bastion. He was reelected two years later.

In 1970 he easily won election as Orange County's US Congressional representative. In Washington, DC, where he served on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and on the House Internal Security Committee, he quickly established himself as a one of the country's most articulate and outspokenly right-wing political figures. A writer for a San Diego newspaper remarked: "Schmitz has developed a reputation as a respected adversary, even though still the greenest of freshmen under House seniority rules. And even some liberal opponents begrudgingly give him credit for providing light moments in a city that has too few of them."

Throughout his political career, Schmitz was a steadfast supporter of such causes as limited government, states' rights, and a strong national defense, and a staunch opponent of abortion and Communism. When asked about his principled conservatism, Schmitz explained that the "middle of the road" is determined by how far either side, left or right, is willing to push.

Political supporters and opponents alike respected and even admired John Schmitz the man. A close friend and colleague summed up:

> Schmitz is not a man to make enemies easily. Unlike many with firm and unyielding principles, he can disagree without being disagreeable. He has won the grudging respect even of political foes. With all who share his deep and

abiding concern about the future of individual liberty in America, he accentuates common interests while stirring admiration for his refusal to compromise on fundamentals... A constant imp of humor leavens his earnestness and dogged sense of purpose. Few who meet him can dislike him.

On the occasion of his death, the Chairman of the Orange County Republican Party said: "His sense of humor, intelligence and enthusiasm will long be remembered by his Orange County friends."

Schmitz is perhaps best remembered for his colorful 1972 bid for the US presidency as the candidate of the American Party. After a boisterous campaign, he received 1.1 million votes in 32 states. Political commentator Michael Barone observed that he distinguished himself with his direct talk and "puckishly humorous" wit. For example, commenting on Richard Nixon's famous 1972 visit to China, he quipped: "I have no objection to President Nixon going to China. I just object to his coming back." When asked about Nixon's Defense Secretary, Melvin Laird, Schmitz said that he had no complaint, adding: "Of course, Otto von Bismarck was my first choice."

During the 1972 campaign, he often repeated his simple, three-point platform: One, in foreign affairs, we should always treat our friends better than our enemies; Two, never go to war unless you plan on winning; Three, domestically, those who work ought to live better than those who won't.

In 1978 he returned to the California state senate after election as a Republican representing Newport Beach.

Schmitz' sometimes tragic personal and family life also made headlines. His political career came to sudden end in 1982 after it was revealed that he had a pregnant mistress and 15-month old son by the woman, who had been his student in a political science class he taught at Santa Ana College. In 1997 one of his daughters, Mary Kay LeToureau, a married teacher in Washington state at the time, was convicted of carrying on a sexual relationship with a 13-year-old pupil, by whom she eventually had two children.

Schmitz received a Bachelor's degree from Marquette University in 1952 with a major in philosophy and a minor in history, and, after attending night classes, a Master's degree in 1960 from California State University at Long Beach. He was a Ph.D. candidate in Political Philosophy at Claremont Graduate School, and did a sabbatical at Georgetown University. Following his active duty in the Marine Corps and throughout his years of elected public service, he taught political science and philosophy at Santa Ana College in southern California, retiring as a professor in 1990.

John Schmitz, right, at the Tenth IHR Conference in Washington, DC (October 13-15, 1999) with Hiroshima survivor Albert Kawachi, who is autographing a copy of his book, *Why I Survived the A-Bomb*.

Among his publications are two books: *The Viet Cong Front in the United States* (1971); and *Stranger in the Arena: The Anatomy of an Amoral Decade 1964-1974* (1974). He also wrote the Introduction to Gary Allen's best-seller, *None Dare Call It Conspiracy* (1971).

Schmitz also played the violin, was an able political cartoonist, and painter of Orange County seascapes. He was a devout Roman Catholic. In recent years he devoted much time to the family-owned vineyard, "Chapelle Charlemagne," in Rappahannock County, Virginia.

John and his wife of 17 years, Mary, had seven children. Two of their sons are lawyers in the Washington, DC, area. In addition to his wife and children, Schmitz is survived by numerous grand-children, as well as five brothers and sisters in the Milwaukee, Wisconsin, area.

He will be missed by his many friends and admirers.

— *M. W.*

The IHR Needs Your Help

Only with the sustained help of friends can the Institute for Historical Review carry on its vital mission of promoting truth in history. If you agree that the work of our Institute is important, please support it with your generous donation!

Foreword to the Arabic Edition of Garaudy's *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*

MOHAMED HASANEIN HEIKAL

Whereas "Holocaust denial" is a crime in France, Germany and some other European countries, skepticism of the familiar Six Million story is widespread in Arab and Muslim countries. Gamal Abdel Nasser, the charismatic Egyptian president and pan-Arab leader, said in a 1964 interview: "No one, not even the simplest man in our country, takes seriously the lie about six million murdered Jews." More recently this skepticism was manifest in an outpouring of support from across the Muslim world for French scholar Roger Garaudy when he was brought before a Paris court for daring to challenge Holocaust claims in his book on Israel's "Founding Myths." (See T. O'Keefe, "Origin and Enduring Impact of the 'Garaudy Affair'," July-August 1999 Journal.*)*

Mohamed Heikal has for decades been widely acknowledged as the most influential journalist in the Arab world. Under his editorship, the Cairo daily Al Ahram became one of the world's most often quoted newspapers. His weekly column in the influential paper was eagerly read as a reliable reflection of informed and official opinion in Egypt.

Born in Cairo in 1923, he was for years a personal friend of Gamel Nasser, and served as a cabinet minister in President Nasser's government. A skillful writer and leading Arab authority on contemporary Middle East politics, Heikal is the author of numerous books, several of which have been published in English.

Because of his international stature, it is significant that he not only agreed to contribute a foreword to the Arabic edition of Garaudy's controversial book, but that in doing so he endorsed the revisionist view of the Holocaust issue. (The Arabic-language edition of Garaudy's Founding Myths, *translated from French by Mohammad Hisham, was published in Cairo in 1998 by Dar Al-Shurooq.* The Founding Myths of Modern Israel *is published in the US by the Institute for Historical Review.)*

Here is the complete text of Mohamed Heikal's foreword, translated for The Journal of Historical Review *by Dr. Abdullah M. Sindi, an author (The Arabs and the West: The Contributions and the Inflictions) and Journal contributor ("How the Jewish-Zionist Grip on American Film and Television Promotes Bias Against Arabs and Muslims," in the Sept.-Oct. 1998* Journal*), and by E. G. Mueller, an Arab studies specialist who translated "Foiling Espionage in Berlin Radio's Arabic Service," in the Jan.-Feb. 2000* Journal.

— The Editor

I don't exactly know how to present this book to Arabic readers. I want to recommend it. Yet I don't want to get involved in a discussion of its contents – something that writing a foreword usually entails.

I would have preferred that this book in particular not include a foreword written by someone other than the author. Some manuscripts – including this book – can do very well without them. In fact, it is possible that a foreword can become a burden on a book rather than a support for it.

In such cases the forewords, directly or indirectly, offer an interpretation of the book according to the bias of the person writing the foreword. Such a slanted interpretation can sometimes distort a work's message. This is a sensitive matter in the case of a book such as this: *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel* by Mr. Roger Garaudy. This is a collection of Zionist myths summarized by Garaudy as follows:

1. The "Promised Land" for Jews in Palestine
2. The Jews as God's Chosen People
3. A "Land Without People for a People Without a Land"
4. The Nazi Holocaust
5. The Jewish faith and political Zionism, and the distinction between the two

In his presentation of these founding myths of Israeli policy and the state of Israel, Garaudy did not author a book in the traditional sense, but rather was careful to weave events into a fabric of facts. The author's task in such a case is to act like a loom, stretching the threads horizontally and vertically to create an expanse of material that can be looked at, studied, and examined for its cohesiveness and tenacity.

In relating each of these founding myths of Israeli policy, Garaudy did not want to discuss or contradict them himself. Instead he drew the facts out of the primary sources and the original documents and let them speak for themselves, and follow their logical courses to reach their own natural

conclusions by themselves.

There were others, in fact, before Mr. Garaudy, who tried to approach this subject. Yet he surpasses them in the comprehensive way by which he deals with all the Israeli myths. All Garaudy's predecessors, at least so far as I know, concentrated on a single myth. Most of the focus was on the Nazi holocaust, which according to Israeli myth claimed six million Jewish victims alone. Perhaps the furor that has surrounded this myth in particular stems from the struggle between the European conscience or feeling of guilt, on the one hand, and on the other, the attempt by Zionists to put pressure on that conscience and torture it for the benefit of their own project.

It was natural for the European conscience to try to seek the truth and to put this period in its proper place in the context of human history. On the other hand, it was also natural for the Zionist movement to do its utmost in order to put Israel where it wanted it to be on the map of the Middle East!

I have been following these battles ever since I read *Far and Wide*, a book by Douglas Reed that was published in the United States in 1947 [1951]. Reed was one of the most prominent British journalists who covered World War II. After the war, the legend of the Nazi Holocaust and its promotion, particularly in the US, attracted Reed's attention. Reed's approach in discussing this myth in practice was based primarily on demographic data and what they pointed to. Such data, Reed felt, do not lie. He cited the statistics of the League of Nations on the number of Jews in the world in 1938, the last annual report of this global organization before World War II. Then he compared those data with the figures found in the first post-war population statistics published in 1947 by the United Nations – the organization that replaced the League of Nations. The comparison revealed that the number of Jews in the world after the war of 1939-1945 was the same as it had been before the war – just under eleven million persons.

Douglas Reed estimated that the number of the victims of the Nazi holocaust – which had indeed occurred – did not exceed 300,000 or 400,000 – the range of natural growth of the Jewish population over a period of seven or eight years.

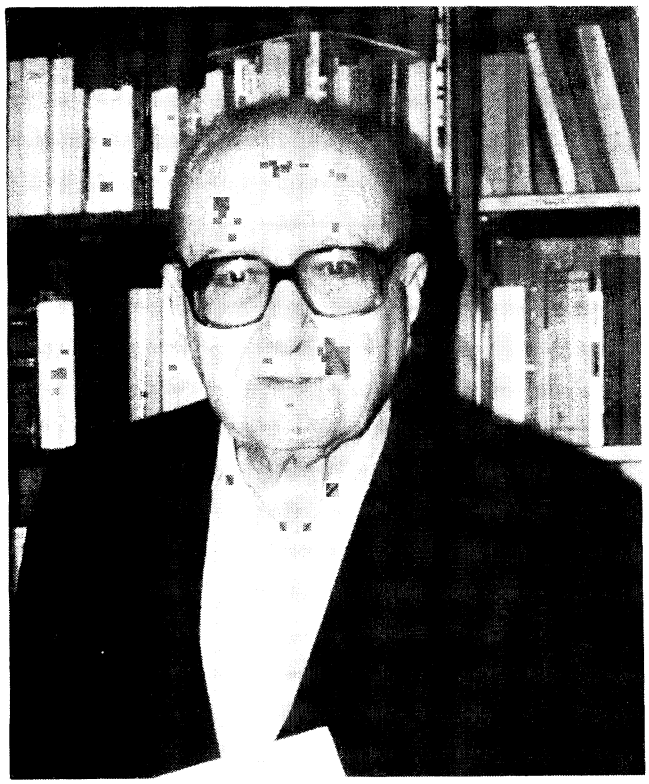
This is, in any case, a dreadful figure – enough not only to torture the European conscience, but that of all humanity. Nevertheless the Jews were not the ones who sacrificed the most victims in the Nazi inferno; more were Germans themselves, and Russians, Poles, and Gypsies. (And then there were the Palestinians, who were blameless, but who were forced by the Zionist movement to atone for the guilt that weighed on German and European consciences. It fell on them to pay that debt with compound interest many times over, and to pay with their native homeland of Palestine itself, their history, land, people, and future!)

Mohamed Heikal

Douglas Reed was subjected to a vicious campaign. His book disappeared from libraries and bookstores. He himself vanished from journalistic life and from public life as a whole, buried in oblivion!

Later I was able to see for myself – and not just by reading – what happened to the meticulous British historian David Irving. By chance I witnessed the vicious physical beating he received [on July 12, 1992] while eating breakfast at the Richoux restaurant in South Audley Street in London, near the Egyptian Embassy. The reason for this beating was not that David Irving wrote about the Nazi holocaust, but that he spent time investigating and researching it. It became widely known in many circles that he was on the verge of finding the truth, because he had obtained access before everyone else to the Soviet archives, whose vaults held the real secrets of the Nazi holocaust due to the circumstances surrounding the end of the war.

For it was the Soviet army that marched into Poland to pursue and chase out the Nazi army in 1944. Since more than 80 percent of pre-World War II Jewry had been living in Poland, the most important and famous of all Nazi camps for Jews, such as Dachau [*sic*], Auschwitz and Treblinka, were on Pol-



Roger Garaudy

ish territory. Accordingly, it was the Soviet military that entered them, and were the first to uncover and observe their secret contents. Later, all of the documents of the camps with all their secrets came to rest in the vaults of the Soviet state archives, which the state then closed and locked, just as it closed and locked everything else. Finally the doors to these archives were opened to Irving, when the grip of that state loosened and its power collapsed due to the decay and collapse of the Soviet state itself.

David Irving knew where and how to dig out the secrets of the Nazi holocaust. His feet trod the damp corridors and his hands reached for the shelves and into the drawers!

An angry storm erupted against Irving and escalated so far that he was harassed and physically assaulted in the street. There was incitement against him that went so far as a boycott. All of this occurred before he had written up his findings in a book. It was enough that he had come the closest of all researchers to the truth by using sources that were more precise and more accurate.

Apparently the evidence David Irving turned up led one to conclusions similar to those reached by Douglas Reed. In other words, the comparison of the figures published by the old League of Nations with those of the post-war United Nations – and also the figures that could be extracted from the Soviet archive material were all notably similar. Thus it is probable – perhaps certain – that between 300,000 and 400,000 Jews paid with their lives as a result of the insane notion of racial purity that led to the Nazi madness.

Still, it is evident that even within the limits of these figures it is humanely and even politically possible for the Arab mind to realize two facts:

First, that there was indeed a tragedy inflicted on the Jews in Europe under Nazi rule (and also before it). It is not acceptable fundamentally to deny the tragedy just because Israel uses it to camouflage and cover up another, even more catastrophic tragedy: that perpetrated by Israel on the Arabs of Palestine, whose people were killed and whose homeland was stolen.

Second, that the "myth" of the holocaust plays a real role in the existence and subconscious of contemporary Jews. It is therefore a dangerous mistake to leave the true part of the holocaust story to the scheming of the Zionist movement, so that it can be exploited as myths have usually been exploited throughout history.

All through history – and this is the difference between myth and general tall tales and fairy stories — the raw material of myth has been extracted from the convolutions of the distant or recent past to be remade and reconstructed for the purpose of carrying out its assigned task. The task of myth has always been to mobilize people. Mobilization is a preparation for confrontation, while confrontation is preparation for struggle, and the struggle that follows is simply a ready description of war. Hence, myth is often haunted by the specter of a fighter, and in some circumstances this spectral fighter is better able to kill than a real cavalier is able to fight.

Perhaps it was the desire to distinguish between history and its facts, on the one hand, and the myths and their specters, on the other, that moved an Arab intellectual of the stature of Edward Said to demand that the Arabs acknowledge the holocaust. He believes that this is the only way to "banish the specter," allowing the facts of history to remain as much as possible, while the effects of myth could be removed from it – at least as much as possible.

There have been other writers and historians who have tackled other founding myths of the Israeli policy, particularly the myth of "a land without a people for a people without land." Their writings, however, did not set off as many battles as have been sparked by the subject of the holocaust. The reasons for this could be understood in the fact that these writings were part of political or moral debates that lacked the heat of the tragedy or the flame of the holocaust. In addition, none of these writings evoked that confrontation between a tortured European conscience, trying to place facts in their proper places, on the one hand, and a Zionist

movement that exploits the pains of the whole of humanity in order to put Israel on the map of the Middle East!

Professor Garaudy's attempt has finally come, all the same. And he has made it a much more difficult battle because he did not tackle just one myth, but all the myths at once.

He did not publish a book, but rather wove a complete tapestry out of the fabric of events.

The most distinguishing feature of Garaudy's attempt, though, is that it comes from a man who knows what awaits him and is well prepared for it in advance. In addition, with his notoriety and stature, he is not a man who could be easily buried in oblivion, as happened to Douglas Reed, for example, or be beaten and boycotted, as happened to David Irving.

Douglas Reed

Even so, it has been proved that when confronting Zionist power no one is impregnable and there are no guarantees. Yet, to judge from the long discussion I had with him in Cairo recently, Garaudy knows the danger that faces him and I saw that he was ready for it. It was strange for me to see this man who has passed the 85th year of his life, not only ready for danger, but even relishing it. That is one of the traits of courage. To choose a course where danger is known to be waiting is different from accidentally leaping into its path. The first situation is a case of bravery, while the second is a sign of foolishness, and there is a great distance between the two!

Douglas Reed

As Egyptian journalist Mohamed Heikal notes in his foreword to the Arabic edition of Garaudy's *Founding Myths*, Douglas Reed was a very influential writer who was later consigned to public oblivion for writing frankly about Zionist power.

Born in Britain in 1895, Reed began working at the age of 13 as an office boy. At age 19 he worked as a bank clerk until enlisting in the British army at the outbreak of the First World War. At the age of 26, and "relatively unschooled" (as he once described himself), he began working for the London *Times* as a telephonist and clerk. He reached journalism at the age of 30 as a sub-editor. Three years later he was the venerable paper's assistant correspondent in Berlin, before transferring to Vienna as its chief central European correspondent. He went on to report, as a *Times* correspondent, from Warsaw, Moscow, Prague, Athens, Sofia, Bucharest, Budapest and other European centers.

He left *The Times* in 1938, almost simultaneously with the publication of his book *Insanity Fair*, which sold very well (including its US edition), and brought him world fame. He later wrote: "I let off all this pent-up steam and said just what I thought about the coming war and the folks who were letting it happen in a book, *Insanity Fair*." A year later came another bestseller, *Disgrace Abounding*, and then others, including *Prophet at Home*, *All Our Tomorrows*, *Lest We Regret*, and *Somewhere South of Suez*. Reed also found time to write four novels and a play.

He provided readers with elegantly-crafted reporting and analysis based on seasoned but common-sense observations of the international scene. Although he addressed all the major issues of the day, it was his forthright writing on the machinations and impact of the Zionist movement that got him into trouble. In *Somewhere South of Suez* (London: 1950), for example, he wrote:

> ... During all that period and to the present time, it was not possible freely to report or discuss a third vital matter: Zionist Nationalism. In this case the freedom of the press has become a fallacy during the past two decades ... When I came to America I found that this ban, for such it is in practice, prevailed even more rigidly than in my own country.... In daily usage, no American or British newspaper, apparently, now dares to print a line of news or comment unfavorable to the Zionist ambition ... The inference to me is plain: the Zionist Nationalists are powerful enough to govern governments in the great countries of the remaining West!

In his next book *Far and Wide* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1951), Reed took a skeptical look at the much-hyped Jewish-Zionist claims of six million Jewish wartime deaths. He wrote:

> During the Second World War I noticed that the figures of Jewish losses, in places where war made verification impossible, were being irre-

sponsibly inflated, and said so in a book. The process continued until the war's end when the figure of six millions was produced (and the Arabs were immediately chastised). A transparently worthless estimate was not only being used for mass-delusion through newspapers, but even given official status!

... No proof can be given that six million Jews 'perished'; proof can be adduced that so many cound not have perished ... Certain mathematical rules govern destruction on such a scale; you need pursuers, jailers, prisons, camps, transport, executioners in numbers inconceivable ...

In a matter where nothing is verifiable, one thing seems sure: that six million Jews were never even contained in German-occupied territories ... Yet this massive assertion about the six millions was used by politicians in the highest places, by prosecutors at Nuremberg, and habitually by mass-newspapers which in lesser matters would print no statement unverified!

The familiar six million figure, Reed went on, is "one which not bear any scrutiny by independent investigators." Citing publicly available sources, he suggested that total Jewish wartime losses may have been between two and a half million and something more than three and a half million.

After the publication of *Far and Wide*, Reed was all but banned by establishment publishers. Still, he remained undaunted. His final book, *The Controversy of Zion* (Veritas [Australia] and Noontide [USA], 1985), provides a detailed and literate dissection of the origins and international impact of the Zionist movement, including its corrupting influence in Britain and the United States. Once again devoting several pages to the issue of Jewish wartime deaths, he concluded:

> The starting point for consideration of this question [of Jewish wartime losses] is the fact that six million Jews, or anything approaching that number, cannot possibly have been 'done to death' or caused to 'perish' ... The very assertion, made before the Nuremberg court, was an affront to their 815,000 fighting-men, sailors and civilians, killed in all theatres of war, of which only the Western politicians of this century would have been capable.

However little known Douglas Reed may be today, his work — as Mohamed Heikal's foreword to the Arabic edition of Roger Garaudy's book attests — has not gone entirely unappreciated.

— *M. W.*

Zionist Groups Denounce Beirut Meeting

Interest Mounts for 'Revisionism and Zionism' Conference

Preparations are continuing according to plan for the landmark international conference on "Revisionism and Zionism" in Beirut, Lebanon, March 31-April 3, 2001. The event's importance is reflected in the eager inquiries from journalists in several countries, in the steady stream of guest registrations, and in the anxious denunciations recently issued by leading Jewish-Zionist groups.

The Anti-Defamation League, one of the world's most powerful Zionist organizations, issued a special news release, February 11, bitterly complaining about the Beirut conference. It specifically denounced the Institute for Historical Review, which is helping to organize the event. Apart from numerous errors of fact, blatant bias, and childish accusations of the allegedly evil motives of the "deniers," nearly all the factual information in the ADL release is simply taken from the IHR web site. The Simon Wiesenthal Center, another ardent apologist for Israel, the next day issued its own strident condemnation of the Beirut conference. It similarly took a swipe at the "so-called Institute for Historical Review."

Prominent revisionist scholars, researchers and activists from a range of countries are scheduled to address the Beirut conference, which will both reflect and further strengthen the growing cooperation between independent scholars in Europe, the United States and Middle East countries. Conference addresses will be given in Arabic, French and English.

The four-day event is being organized by the Swiss revisionist organization *Verité et Justice*, in cooperation with the IHR. *Verité et Justice* director Jürgen Graf, who was sentenced by a Swiss court in July 1998 to 15 months imprisonment for "Holocaust denial," has fled his homeland to live in political exile rather than serve the politically-motivated sentence. The 49-year-old educator is currently in Tehran as a guest of Iranian scholars.

Guests are welcome to attend the Beirut conference, but they must cover their own travel and hotel expenses. There is no registration or attendance fee. United States citizens traveling to Lebanon require a valid US passport and a visa issued by the Lebanese embassy or a Lebanese consulate.

Further details about the Beirut conference are posted on the "Beirut 2001" section of the IHR web site: http://ihr.org

Roger Garaudy's Founding Myths

God Yes, Holocaust No

Doug Collins

This is a review of a book which, as far as I am aware, has never been reviewed in the mainstream North American press, even though it caused a sensation in Europe when it was published in France. Its title is *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*, and it was written by the French scholar Roger Garaudy.

The only reason we can read it now is that it has been put out in English by the Institute for Historical Review in California (assuming, that it isn't seized by the Canadian censors as "hate literature). It is of course a myth that we have a free press. Certain subjects are taboo, and in many "democracies" punishable if they cross the line of approved opinion. That includes questioning the six million figure of Jewish deaths in the Holocaust. Any German who does so soon sees the inside of a jail. And the unceasing flood of propaganda from Hollywood and the liberal media ensures that "Holocaust deniers" are seen as "racists," "neo-Nazis," and knaves, even though they may not deny that the Jews were persecuted and died in their thousands under the Nazis.

As Garaudy states: "The only arguments that have been used against the [Holocaust] revisionists have been refusal to debate, physical attack, censorship, and repression." He should know. In 1998 a French court fined him $40,000 for having written *Founding Myths*, which he calls a "heresy history."

An Egyptian Nobel Laureate in literature wondered at the time why it is that you can deny the existence of God, but not the Holocaust as described by the ax-grinders. That applies also here in Wimpland, where you can find yourself up before a "human rights commission" for doing so.

Garaudy shows that it is not Judaism that is at fault but Zionism, and he expresses no hostility to Jews as such. Judaism is a humanitarian religion, he says, while Zionism can be, and has been, ruthless nationalism. That is what explains the brutal expulsion of Palestinians from what used to be their country, plus the outrageous attacks on Lebanon involving thousands of deaths, not to mention murderous actions like the one in 1948 on Deir Yassin, designed by Menachem Begin to terrify Palestinians into fleeing.

Begin became a prime minister of Israel, yet was described by the first prime minister, Ben Gurion, as "clearly a Hitlerian type. He is a racist willing to destroy all the Arabs for the sake of the completeness of the country, sanctifying all means for the sake of the sacred end ..."

Interestingly, too, Garaudy compares the view that the Jews are "God's chosen people" with Hitler's view of the superiority of the German race.

Yitzhak Shamir, another terrorist who became a prime minister, tried to collaborate with the Nazis. The persecution of the Jews took second place to the creation of Israel. "The [Zionist] preoccupation with building a strong Jewish state made them much more anti-British than anti-Nazi," states Garaudy. It was in 1941 that the British arrested Shamir "for terrorism and collaboration with the Nazi enemy." He is at pains to point out, however, that the great majority of Jews were active in the fight against Hitler. Still, Shamir's early antics were not something we heard much about once Israel became a state.

Garaudy also deals with "myths on the Holocaust" that are put out daily by the propaganda machine, the main purpose of which is to make it dangerous to challenge Zionist policies.

There was, he states emphatically, no Hitler order for the extermination of the Jews (which is not to say that he thought that Hitler was some kind of Teutonic Boy Scout); Rudolf Höss, the commandant at Auschwitz, was beaten to a pulp in order to make him say that he had overseen the killing of over two-and-a half million Jews; and no "final solution" was decided at the Wannsee Conference.

Others have been convincing on the same points. Robert Faurisson, Europe's leading revisionist, was run out of his university. He was also hauled before the French courts and nearly killed by Jewish thugs. Deny God, yes, deny the six million of the Holocaust, no.

Unfortunately for his critics, Garaudy's whole background is anti-Nazi. He fought in the French Army in 1940, joined the Resistance after the defeat of France, became a prominent Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, rejected Communism in 1968 and converted to Islam, but, it is stated in the Foreword, "has never ceased to proclaim his anti-racialist, internationalist, and socialist beliefs".

Founding Myths has been denounced by the Zionist Organization of America and other Jewish groups as "the number one threat to Israel." Which is a confession that what Garaudy has to say must have some substance to it. It is also a proclamation that revisionists must be silenced and ruined.

Doug Collins, an award-winning Canadian journalist and author of several books, served with the British army during the Second World War. For 14 years, he wrote a popular column for the *North Shore News* of North Vancouver, British Columbia. His addressed the Tenth IHR Conference (1990). This column, distributed on-line, is dated September 26, 2000.

Report of Israeli Eavesdropping on White House Telephones Gets Varying Media Treatment

RICHARD H. CURTISS

In its May 29, 2000, issue *Insight* magazine published an in-depth report headlined "FBI Probes Espionage at Clinton White House." [The full text can be found on the *Insight* web site <http://www.insightmag.com/archive/200005306.shtml>] The article, actually released on May 5, was the result of a one-year investigation by editors J. Michael Waller and Paul M. Rodriguez into reports that the FBI was probing allegations that the government of Israel had penetrated four White House telephone lines and was able to relay real-time conversations on those lines from a remote site outside the White House directly to Israel for listening and recording.

The article also charged that the FBI was investigating whether similar penetrations had been made into State Department lines, possibly Pentagon lines and, most interesting, into unlisted, secret lines used by the FBI in its counterintelligence work, including its probe into the Israeli penetration already being investigated. The two reporters said the FBI investigation had been launched in late 1996 or early 1997 when a local telephone company manager became suspicious of an Israeli employee of Amdocs, an Israeli company that sells billing software to telephone companies.

The American telephone manager's suspicions came to the attention of the CIA, the reporters said, which turned the matter over to the FBI. The Israeli worked as a subcontractor on a telephone-billing program being developed for the CIA, and was married to an Israeli woman employed in the Israeli Embassy in Washington. In a search of the husband's workplace, the FBI found "a list of the FBI's most sensitive telephone numbers, including the Bureau's 'black' lines that FBI counterintelligence used to keep track of the suspected Israel spy operation," the reporters noted. They reported also that husband-and-wife assignments are common in the Mossad.

In the course of their investigation, the journalists said, they found it impossible to get clear confirmation that the investigation was still active, but at the same time no one would confirm that it had been closed. Instead the reporters were told *officially* that nothing had turned up to confirm the suspicions that prompted the three-year-long investigation, and *unofficially* that, because the allegations and findings involved Israel, the entire subject was "radioactive," "too hot to handle," and "could not be confirmed on the record." The two journalists also suggested in their article that perhaps congressional investigators could pick up where they had left off, using the power to subpoena testimony that government officials seemed both eager and afraid to offer except under duress. But since the article appeared, no member of Congress has taken up the challenge.

A 'Radioactive' Effect

In fact, the different media handling accorded the article in the US, European, and Israeli press is a story in itself. The US media, like US government officials, clearly consider Israel "radioactive." Just as an American government official knows that expressing any interest in Israel, unless it is extremely positive, is a career-breaker, US editors know that in journalism it can have the same effect, and also can result in extensive, concerted loss of advertising—whether the publication's advertisers are national or local.

Thus, although the Rupert Murdoch-owned Fox News, the most conservative of the US networks, picked up the *Insight* story on May 5, even before *Insight* readers had received their copy of it, there was virtually no television or radio follow-up, except on radio talk shows when the few callers who had heard about it brought it up. The US print media were even more timid. *The Washington Post* printed only a May 6 Associated Press report quoting "two senior federal law enforcement officials...who requested anonymity" as reporting that "the FBI had identified no one to arrest during its investigation." The AP also quoted "Capitol Hill Republican sources" as saying the allegations centered on a telecommunications contractor and that Israeli Embassy spokesman Mark Regev in Washington

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This essay is reprinted from the July 2000 issue of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, pp. 43, 112.

called the allegations "outrageous" and claimed, "Israel does not spy on the United States."

On his Web site, *Insight* editor Paul Rodriguez subsequently pointed out that when *The New York Times* got around to reporting the story, it built in an error about the *Insight* report, which then gave the *Times* something to deny.

Whether the *Times* intentionally set up such a straw man and then knocked it down in lieu of reporting accurately on the *Insight* story isn't clear. But the overall US media handling, or non-handling, of the story is summarized by Rodriguez: "While *Insight* prides itself on having sources and contacts others don't, this doesn't mean that other venerable institutions such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* don't have good sources and contacts. In fact, several reporters at those papers, as well as ABC News and Fox News Network, have been pursuing the *Insight* exclusive and have been told much the same story that was published by this magazine [*Insight*]. Yet apart from Fox News, these outlets have run not a word other than the initial wire or staff stories repeating bland comments by the FBI."

Rodriguez told *The Washington Report* on June 19: "We're perplexed that no one has followed up on this story. We think it's news by any stretch of the imagination. It is true that the FBI says that a portion of the investigation is closed. But the fact that a portion also is open makes it news. We will continue to pursue it. Meanwhile, it's gratifying that the Middle East press played it fair and square."

This magazine covered the *Insight* report in a page-and-a-half article in its June issue. That article was also sent out to the magazine's e-mail list of 1,500 newspapers with permission to reprint it. There were a few inquiries, including a request for all references on the subject by a major New York daily, but so far as this writer knows, no reprints. A Texas columnist who queried editors in his state as to why they evinced no interest was told they were put off by *Insight*'s lack of corroborating sources. Maybe you can't dial up the FBI, White House, State Department or Pentagon from Texas. Or maybe Texas editors know exactly what Washington journalists and bureaucrats know: Israel is radioactive.

European press handling of the story was not much different, but perhaps for slightly different reasons. The original wire service stories, based upon *Insight*'s information, were picked up. But since there was no follow-up after the first day or two, even those foreign newspapers with Washington correspondents (who concentrate on "local angle" material and leave general reporting about the US to the wire services) let the story die. Moral: if the US media choose to ignore a story about the US, it literally goes down the memory hole, both at home and abroad.

President Clinton with Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu at a White House news conference in February 1997. At this meeting, the Zionist leader praised Clinton as "an exceptional friend of Israel."

One country that did not ignore the report, however, was Israel. But there the focus was not at all on whether or not the story was true, but only why a three-year-long FBI probe that began as early as 1996 was only now being "leaked" to the media. Reported the Tel Aviv daily *Ha'aretz*, "Israeli sources said that elements within the US government take routine precautionary steps and that whenever there is any tension with Israel, reports on supposed Israeli espionage against the United States are leaked to the press." They noted that this had happened in the past and was happening again now against the background of US opposition to Israel's deal to sell Phalcon spy planes to China.

The same May 7 *Ha'aretz* report on the contents of the *Insight* article was far longer than anything that appeared in any US daily newspaper. It said that although "White House and FBI officials denied the allegations... they acknowledged that such an investigation into possible Israeli eavesdropping had been conducted and added that the file has not technically been closed yet. The file is categorized as 'inactive' due to the severity of the allegations and the possibility that there may be further developments."

Ha'aretz continued: "According to the *Insight* report, for more than a year the FBI followed an

Israeli businessman who works for Amdocs... The magazine said that the FBI is convinced that telephone company equipment was used from a remote venue to eavesdrop on conversations initiated or received by senior US government officials, including possibly those of the president himself...

"The report notes that many government officials conduct conversations containing classified information on lines that are not considered secure. Clinton, too, the magazine stressed, conducted his intimate chats with Monica Lewinsky on an open line. Lewinsky herself said that in March 1997, when she was with the president in his office, he told her he suspected that a foreign embassy had been tapping his line.

"Special prosecutor Kenneth Starr never told the Congress whether those statements by Lewinsky were ever investigated further. Congressional investigators who asked questions about the matter were told at the end of 1998 by the FBI and the CIA that there was no basis to Lewinsky's statement. Congress was also told that there was no investigation being conducted into any foreign government's wiretapping of the White House. Now it emerges that such an investigation on precisely that matter had indeed been conducted."

There were reports similar to that of *Ha'aretz* in the other major Israeli dailies, all longer than anything that appeared in any US daily. The only Israeli editorial comment the reports drew did not question the validity of the *Insight* report, but only its timing.

It is interesting to note that every Israeli editor feels free to inform his readers about stories of great interest in both Israel and the US But nearly all American editors — in a form of "voluntary censorship" identical to that practiced in countries where there is no freedom of the press — choose to withhold those same stories from American readers.

It's going to be hard, however, to make Monica Lewinsky's testimony that President Bill Clinton warned her that a foreign embassy was listening to their telephone sex go permanently down the memory hole. This is particularly true after the whole sordid Monica story hit the US media fan just hours after then-Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu arrived in the US national capital vowing "to set Washington on fire" back in 1998.

Now we know where he got the matches.

"It is time for Americans to comprehend that taxation has become an instrument for the transfer of power, freedoms and treasure from the people to the government."

— Linda Bowles

Clinton and America's Jews

"Nowhere will Mr. Clinton's departure be felt more keenly than among American Jews. Mr. Clinton won Jews' hearts — along with their votes and their campaign dollars — as no president had since Franklin Roosevelt. He evoked a feeling of warmth and comfort among Jews that was evident whenever he met with them, and that was a phenomenon in American politics.

"The president plainly reciprocated this comfort. He appointed more Jews to his administration, from the Cabinet on down, than any president in history. He placed Jewish causes and interests high on his agenda as few presidents had before. He threw the full weight of his administration behind the quest for Holocaust restitution ... Most of all, he made the quest for peace and security in Israel one of the centerpieces of his presidency."

— Front page editorial in *Forward*, an influential nationally-distributed New York Jewish weekly, January 19, 2001.

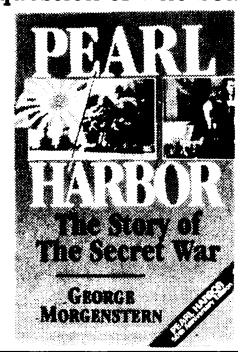
'The Jewish Century'

"No doubt Henry Luce would have been pained to contemplate it, but the era that the founder of *Time* [magazine] was pleased to dub the 'American century' became the Jewish century in American history."

— David Lauter, *Los Angeles Times* senior editor, in the *Los Angeles Times Book Review,* February 18, 2001, p.8.

PEARL HARBOR
The Story of the Secret War
by George Morgenstern

Hailed by revisionist giants Barnes, Beard and Tansill when it appeared shortly after the Second World War, this classic remains unsurpassed as a one-volume treatment of America's Day of Infamy. Morgenstern's *Pearl Harbor* is the indispensable introduction to the question of who bears the blame for the Pearl Harbor surprise, and, more important, for America's entry through the "back door" into the War. Attractive IHR softcover edition with introduction by James J. Martin. 425 pp., maps, biblio., index, $8.95 + $2.50 shipping.



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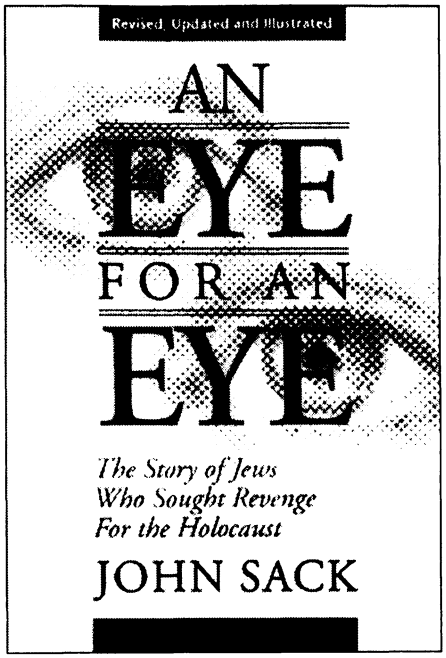
A Horrific, Suppressed Story

Revised, Updated Edition

"The events are vivid, the language is powerful, the conclusions appear just. The book should be read and become part of the all too gruesome document the world calls history."
– New York *Daily News*

In 1945 Poland's new Soviet-dominated government was actively recruiting Jews for its Office of State Security to carry out its own trademark brand of brutal "de-Nazification." The Office's agents raided German homes, rounding up some 200,000 men, women, children and infants – 99 percent of them non-combatant, innocent civilians. Incarcerated in cellars, prisons, and 1,255 concentration camps where typhus was rampant and torture was commonplace, the inmates subsisted on starvation rations. In this brief period, between 60,000 and 80,000 Germans perished at the hands of the Office.



An Eye for an Eye tells the little-known story of how Jewish victims of the Third Reich inflicted equally terrible suffering on innocent Germans. To unearth it, the author, a veteran journalist and war correspondent, spent seven years conducting research and interviews in Poland, Germany, Israel and the United States.

Author John Sack focuses on such figures as Shlomo Morel, a commandant who bragged: "What the Germans couldn't do in five years at Auschwitz, I've done in five months at Schwientochlowitz."

Not for 60 years has a book been so diligently (and, in the end, unsuccessfully) suppressed as *An Eye for an Eye*. One major newspaper, one major magazine, and three major publishers paid $40,000 for it but were scared off. One printed 6,000 copies, then pulped them. Two dozen publishers read *An Eye for an Eye* and praised it. "Shocking," "Startling," "Astonishing," "Mesmerizing," "Extraordinary," they wrote to the author, but all two dozen rejected it.

When it was finally published by Basic Books, it "sparked a furious controversy" *(Newsweek)*. And while it became a best-seller in Europe, it was so shunned in America that it also became, in the words of *New York* magazine, "The Book They Dare Not Review."

Since then, both *60 Minutes* and *The New York Times* have corroborated Sack's riveting expose of atrocities by vengeful Jews against German civilians in Communist-ruled Poland.

Completely revised and updated, this fourth edition includes 74 pages of reference citations and other source notes.

An Eye for an Eye

The Story of Jews Who Sought Revenge for the Holocaust

by John Sack

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Review

Examining Stalin's 1941 Plan to Attack Germany

Unternehmen Barbarossa und der russische Historikerstreit ("Operation Barbarossa and the Russian Historians' Dispute"), by Wolfgang Strauss. Munich: Herbig, 1998. Hardcover. 199 pages. Illustrations. Source references. Bibliography. Index.

Reviewed by Daniel W. Michaels

No two peoples suffered more during the Second World War than the Russians and the Germans. In the carnage of that great global conflict, nothing matched the massive destruction of life and property wrought on the Eastern front by Russian and German forces fanatically driven by irreconcilable ideologies.

Now, more than 50 years after the end of the "clash of the titans," free Russian and German historians are collaborating to ascertain the historical decisions and actions that led to that bloodiest of all conflicts. Wolfgang Strauss, a respected German Slavicist and political analyst, explains this clarifying historical process in "Operation Barbarossa and the Russian Historians' Dispute," his most recent work.[1] He examines here the research of revisionist scholars in Russia and Germany on Stalin's role in igniting the German-Russian conflict and his efforts to expand the Soviet empire across Europe. Perhaps most importantly, he also shows how a shared understanding of the war is contributing to reconciliation between these two great European peoples.

Strauss affirms the view of German historian Ernst Nolte that Hitler's militant anti-Communism was an understandable reaction to the looming Soviet threat to Europe and humanity. Put another way, the militancy of the "fascist" movements that arose in Germany, Spain, Italy and other European countries in the 1920s and 1930s was, in essence, a response to the undisguised Bolshevik goal of dominating Europe.[2] This view, Strauss contends, has now largely been embraced by Russian revisionists and the French historian François Furet.[3] It is basically irrelevant whether one regards the war that broke out in June 1941 between Germany and Soviet Russia as a war of aggression, a preventive war or a counterattack. For each side, Nolte and others contend, this was a life or death struggle to decide which world view and way of life would prevail in Europe — atheistic, internationalist Communism or the bourgeois Christian civilization of the West.

Daniel W. Michaels is a Columbia University graduate (Phi Beta Kappa, 1954), and a former Fulbright exchange student to Germany (1957). He is retired from the US Department of Defense after 40 years of service.

The Black Book

In no way does Strauss dismiss or whitewash Hitler's brutal excesses. He also holds that Hitler's racist concept of the inferiority of the Slavic peoples and his attempt to colonize their lands was not only wrong but doomed his military campaign, and ultimately the Third Reich, to failure. At the same time, Strauss stresses the monumental brutality of Soviet and international Communism. In this regard he cites *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror and Repression*, a recent 860-page work by French scholar Stéphane Courtois and others.[4]

As Courtois stresses, many American and European scholars have upheld a morally peculiar view of history that fervently condemns National Socialist Germany while maintaining a meretriciously non-judgmental "objectivity" toward Soviet Russia. But there is no hierarchy of death and suffering. As Courtois writes: "The death of a Ukrainian peasant child, deliberately exposed to starvation by the Stalinist regime, is just as important as the starvation of a child in the Warsaw Ghetto."

As Strauss relates, Courtois finds that 1) some 100 million human beings lost their lives as a result of Communist policies in the Soviet Union, Red China and other Communist states 2) The Communists made mass criminality an integral part of their governmental system; 3) Terror was part of the Soviet regime from the outset, beginning with Lenin; 4) Class and ethnic genocide, begun by Lenin and systematized by Stalin, preceded Hitler's dictatorship by years; 5) Stalin was unquestionably a greater criminal than Hitler; and 6) Stalin's joint, if not primary, responsibility for the outbreak of Russo-German War is undeniable.[5]

It is often forgotten that the Russian people were the first victims of Communism. Citing evidence from British, Russian and other sources, Strauss shows that those who imposed Communist despotism on the Russians were primarily non-Russian and non-Christian aliens — above all, Jews.[6] Their goal was nothing short of eradicating Christianity and European civilization, at whatever the human cost. Many Russians place the primary responsibility for the crimes of Communism, particularly in the first ten years of Soviet rule, on the Bolshevik

party's non-Russian elements. For example, Strauss notes, the Russian press has referred to the execution of Tsar Nicholas II and his entire family as a "Jewish ritualistic murder."[7] In a similar context, Strauss cites from Solzhenitsyn the names of the ruthless Soviet secret police (NKVD) chiefs — all of them Jews — who put tens of thousands of slave laborers to death under appallingly inhumane conditions in building the White Sea Canal.[8]

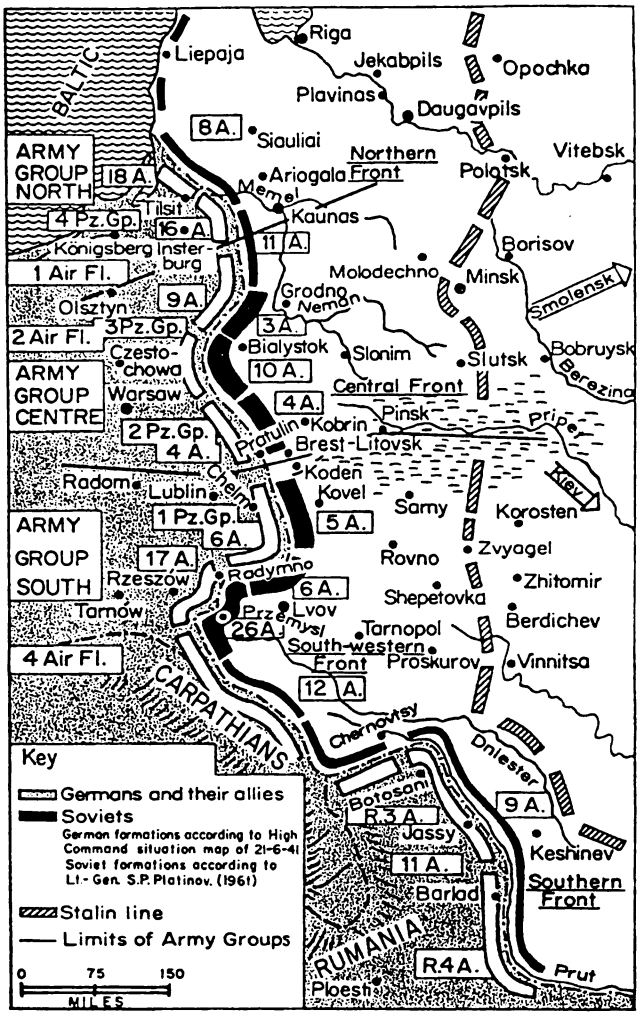
One should not, however, get the impression that Slavs were the exclusive victims of Stalin's terror, or that the murderers were all non-Russians.[9] During the Great Purge of 1937-39, Strauss points out, Stalin executed many Jews who had played a prominent role in the early Soviet regime. In 1940 Stalin succeeded in killing his greatest rival, Lev Trotsky (Bronstein), who had once been the second most powerful figure in the Soviet state. And when Stalin installed the Russian Nikolai Yezhov as head of the NKVD, replacing the Jewish Genrikh Yagoda, thousands of Yagoda's followers and their families, mostly Jews, were murdered or committed suicide.

Pioneering Russian Revisionists

One of the earliest Russian revisionists of World War II history was Pyotr Grigorenko, a Soviet Army Major General and highly decorated war veteran who taught at the Frunze Military Academy. Already in the early 1960s, during the Khrushchev era, he was a "dissident," publicly supporting civil rights for oppressed ethnic minorities. (Authorities committed him to a mental asylum.) In 1967, Strauss relates, he was the first leading Soviet figure to advance the revisionist arguments, which became well known during the 1980s and 1990s, on Stalin's preparations for aggressive war against Germany. In an article submitted to a major Soviet journal (but rejected, and later published abroad), Grigorenko pointed out that Soviet military forces vastly outnumbered German forces in 1941. Just prior to the German attack on June 22, 1941, more than half of the Soviet forces were in the area near and west of Bialystok, that is, in an area deep in Polish occupied territory. "This deployment could only be justified" wrote Grigorenko, "if these troops were deploying for a surprise offensive. In the event of an enemy attack these troops would soon be encircled."[10]

The best known Russian historian to advance revisionist arguments on Stalin's preparations for a first-strike against Germany has been Viktor Suvorov (pen name of Vladimir Rezun). Strauss recapitulates his main arguments (which have been treated in detail in the pages of this *Journal*).[11]

Strauss examines three significant speeches by Stalin (which have also been dealt with by Suvorov, as well as in the pages of this *Journal*):[12] 1. In his address of August 19, 1939, shortly before the outbreak of war, Stalin explained why a temporary alliance with Germany was more beneficial to Soviet interests than an alliance with Britain and France. 2. In his speech of May 5, 1941, Stalin explained to graduate officers of military academies that the impending war would be fought offensively by Soviet forces, and that it would nonetheless be a just war because it would advance world socialism. 3. In the speech of November 6, 1941, some four months after the outbreak of the "Barbarossa" campaign, Stalin stressed the importance of killing Germans.



Just prior to the "Barbarossa" attack on the morning of June 22, 1941, two colossal military forces were poised on each side of the Soviet frontier. Three million German men, with 600,000 vehicles, 750,000 horses, 3,580 tanks, and 1,830 aircraft, were deployed in three large "Army Groups," together with some 600,000 Romanian and Finnish troops. On the Soviet side, 4.5 million Red Army troops were deployed against Germany and Europe. Source: Paul Carell, *Hitler Moves East 1941-1943* (1991), p. 18.

(This speech helped to "inspire" the Soviet Jewish writer Ilya Ehrenburg to make his notorious contribution to the war effort in the form of murderously anti-German propaganda.)

Viktor Suvorov (Vladimir Rezun)

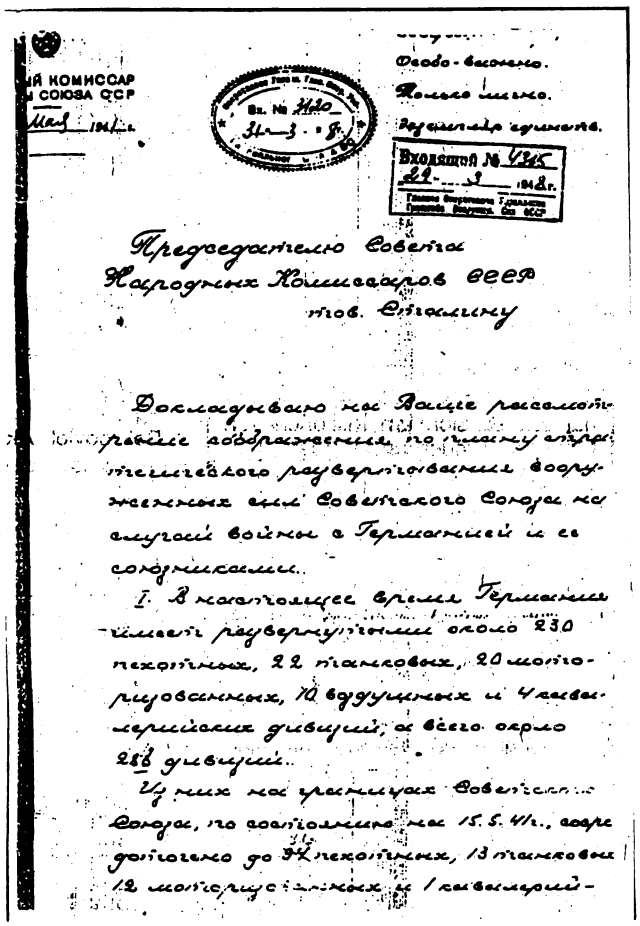
Recent Russian Revisionist Historiography

A radical revision of World War II history, Strauss contends, became possible only after the collapse of the multinational Soviet Union (1991), when some 14 million previously classified documents dealing with all aspects of Soviet rule were finally open to free examination. This book's greatest contribution may well be to highlight for non-Russians the research of Russian revisionists. Strauss is very familiar with this important work, which has been all but entirely ignored in the United States. The most important publications cited by Strauss in this regard are two Russian anthologies, both issued in 1995: "Did Stalin Make Preparations for an Offensive War Against Hitler?," and "September 1, 1939-May 9, 1945: 50th Anniversary of the Defeat of Fascist Germany."[13] The first of these contains articles by revisionist scholars as well as by critics of revisionism. (The "Russian historians' dispute" referred to in the subtitle of Strauss' book echoes the "German historians' dispute" of the 1980s, in which Ernst Nolte played a major role.)

As Strauss notes, the most prominent critic of the revisionist view of Suvorov and others has been Israeli historian Gabriel Gorodetsky, who teaches at Tel Aviv University. (Strauss suggests that he is an long-time apologist for Stalin.) Gorodetsky is the author of a 1995 Russian-language anti-Suvorov work, "The 'Icebreaker' Myth," and a detailed 1999 study, *Grand Illusion: Stalin and the German Invasion of Russia*.

In his discussion of "Did Stalin Make Preparations for an Offensive War Against Hitler," Strauss writes (pages 42-44):

> Even though revisionists as well as the critics of revisionism have their say in this book, the end result is the same. The anti-Fascist attempts to justify and legitimize Stalin's war policy from 1939 do not hold up. The view that the Second World War was "a crime attributable solely to National Socialist Germany" can no longer be sustained. The historical truth as seen by Russian revisionists is documented in this collection of articles published by Bordyugov and Nevezhin as well as by the renowned war historian Mikhail Melitiukhov, academic associate of the All-Russian Research Institute for Documentation and Archives.
>
> This most recent compendium of Russian revisionist writings deepens our understanding of Stalin's preparations for a military first-strike against Germany in the summer of 1941. The strategic deployment plan, approved by Stalin at a conference on May 15, 1941, with General Staff chief Georgi Zhukov and Defense Commissar Semen Timoshenko, called for a *Blitzkrieg*:
>
> Tank divisions and mechanized corps were to launch their attack from the Brest and Lviv [Lemberg] tier accompanied by destructive air strikes. The objective was to conquer East Prussia, Poland, Silesia and the [Czech] Protectorate, and thereby cut Germany off from the Balkans and the Romanian oil fields. Lublin, Warsaw, Kattowice, Cracow, Breslau [Wroclaw] and Prague were targets to be attacked.
>
> A second attack thrust was to be directed at Romania, with the capture of Bucharest. The successful accomplishment of the immediate aims, namely, to destroy the mass of the German Army east of the Vistula, Narev and Oder rivers, was the necessary prerequisite for the fulfillment of the main objective, which was to defeat Germany in a quick campaign. The main contingents of the German armed forces were to be encircled and destroyed by tank armies in bold rapid advances.
>
> Three recurrent terms in the mobilization plan of May 15 confirm the aggressive character of Stalin's plan. "A sudden strike" (*vnyyzapni udar*), "forward deployment" (*razvertyvaniye*), and "offensive war" (*nastupatel'naya voyna*). Of the 303 [Soviet] divisions assembled on the western front, 172 were assigned to the first wave of attack. One month was allotted for the total deployment — the period from June 15 to July 15. Mikhail Melitiukhov: "On this basis it appears that the war against Germany would have to have begun in July."
>
> This anthology also devotes much attention to analyzing Stalin's speech of May 5, 1941, delivered to graduates of Soviet military academies. In this speech Stalin justified his change of foreign policy in connection with the now decided-upon attack against Germany. From the Communist point of view even a Soviet war of aggression is a "just war" because it serves to expand the "territory of the socialist world" and "to destroy the capitalist world." Most important in this May 5 speech was Stalin's efforts to



Председателю Совета
Народных Комиссаров СССР
тов. Сталину

Докладываю вам Ваше распоряжение соображения по плану стратегического развертывания вооруженных сил Советского Союза на случай войны с Германией и ее союзниками.

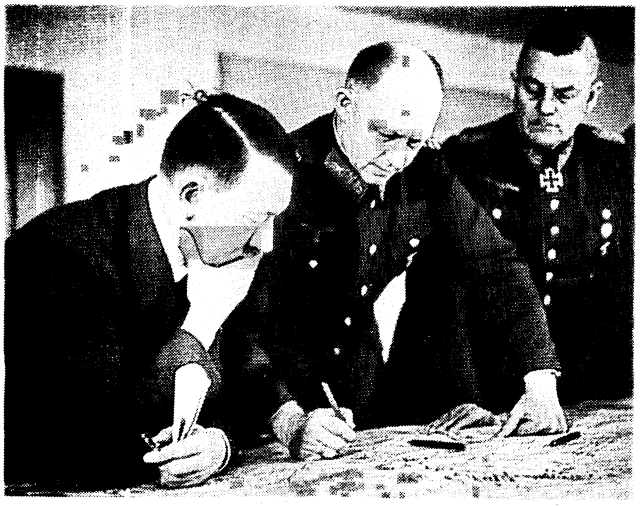
I. В наступающее время Германия имеет развернутыми около 230 пехотных, 22 танковых, 20 моторизованных, 10 воздушных и 4 кавалерийских дивизий, а всего около 286 дивизий.

First page of the May 1941 Soviet memorandum, shown here in facsimile (reduced), that lays out strategy for a military first strike against Germany and her allies. Using such terms as "a sudden strike" and "offensive war," it calls for a lightning attack against German East Prussia, Poland, Silesia and the Czech lands, thereby cutting Germany off from the Balkans and the Romanian oil fields, and a second military thrust directed at Romania. This document, says Russian historian Melitiukhov, suggests that the Soviet strike against Germany and her allies was set to begin in July 1941. Hand-written in black ink, this 15-page document was prepared by Soviet general Vasilevski, and signed by Soviet General Staff chief Zhukov and Soviet defense commissar Timoshenko. It was submitted to Stalin on May 15, 1941. The rectangle and oval archive stamps show that this document was transferred in 1948 to the operations bureau of the Soviet General Staff.

dispel the "myth of the invincible Wehrmacht." The Red Army was strong enough to smash any enemy, even the "seemingly invincible Wehrmacht."

Strauss lists (pages 102-105) the major findings and conclusions of Russian revisionists, derived mostly from the two major works cited above:

- Stalin wanted a general European war of exhaustion in which the USSR would intervene at the politically and militarily most expedient moment. Stalin's main intention is seen in his speech to the Politburo of August 19, 1939.
- To ignite this, Stalin used the [August 1939] Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, which: a) provoked Hitler's attack against Poland, and b) evoked the declarations of war [against Germany] by Britain and France.
- In the event Germany was defeated quickly [by Britain and France], Stalin planned to "Sovietize" Germany and establish a "Communist government" there, but with the danger that the victorious capitalist powers would never permit a Communist Germany.
- In the event France was defeated quickly [by Germany], Stalin planned the "Sovietization" of France. "A Communist revolution would seem inevitable, and we could take advantage of this for our own purposes by rushing to aid France and making her our ally. As a result of this, all the nations under the 'protection' of a victorious Germany would become our allies."
- From the outset Stalin reckoned on a war with Germany, and the [Soviet] conquest of Germany. To this end, Stalin concentrated on the western border of the USSR operational offensive forces, which were five- to six-times stronger than the Wehrmacht with respect to tanks, aircraft and artillery.
- With respect to a war of aggression, on May 15, 1941, the Red Army's Main Political Directorate instructed troop commanders that every war the USSR engaged in, whether defensive or offensive, would have the character of a "just war."
- Troop contingents were to be brought up to full strength in all the western military districts; airfields and supply bases to support a forward-strategy were to be built directly behind the border; an attack force of 60 divisions was to be set up in the Ukraine and mountain divisions and a parachute corps were to be established for attack operations.
- The 16th, 19th, 21st, 22nd and 25th Soviet Armies were transferred from the interior to the western border, and deployed at take-off points for the planned offensive.
- In his speech of May 5, 1941, to graduate officers of the academies, Stalin said that war with Germany was inevitable, and characterized it as a war not only of a defensive nature but rather of an offensive nature.
- Stalin intended to attack in July 1941, although Russian historians disagree about the precise date. Suvorov cites July 6, [Valeri] Danilov [a retired Soviet Colonel] gives July 2,



General Alfred Jodl, center, makes a point about the military situation during a briefing with Hitler and General Wilhelm Keitel.

while Melitiukhov writes: "The Red Army could not have carried out an attack before July 15."

Hitler's Proclamation

In an appendix of documents, Strauss includes portions of Hitler's "Operation Barbarossa" directive of December 18, 1940. Also here, in facsimile, is a German press announcement of June 22, 1941, that gives Hitler's reasons for Germany's attack against the Soviet Union:

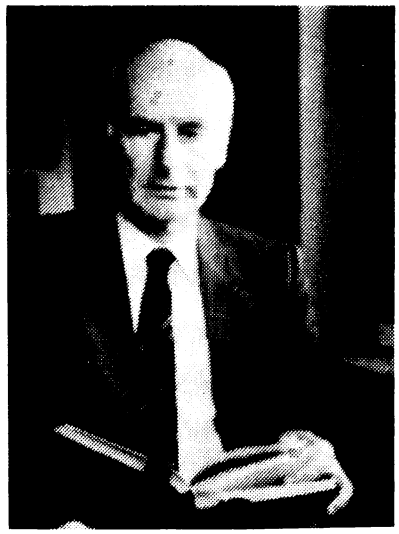
> This morning the Führer, through Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels, issued a proclamation to the German people in which he explains that after months-long silence he can finally speak openly to the German people about the dangerous machinations of the Jewish-Bolshevik rulers in Soviet Russia. After the German-Russian Friendship Treaty in the Autumn of 1939, he hoped for an easing of tensions with Russia. This hope, however, was crushed by Soviet Russia's extortionist demands against both Finland and the Baltic states as well as against Romania.
>
> After the victory in Poland the Western powers rejected the Führer's proposal for an understanding because they were hoping that Soviet Russia would attack Germany. Since the Spring of 1940 Soviet troops have been deploying in ever increasing numbers along the German border, so that since August 1940 strong German forces have been tied down in the East, making any major German effort in the West impossible.
>
> During his [November 1940] visit to Berlin, [Soviet foreign minister] Molotov posed questions regarding Romania, Finland, Bulgaria and the Dardanelles that clearly revealed that Soviet Russia intended to create trouble in eastern Europe. To be sure, the Bolshevik coup attempt against the [Romanian] government of Antonescu failed, but, with the help of the Anglo-Saxon powers [Britain and the United States], their putsch in Yugoslavia succeeded. Serbian air force officers flew to Russia and were immediately incorporated in the Army there.
>
> With these machinations Moscow has not just broken the so-called German-Russian Friendship Treaty, it has betrayed it. In his proclamation the Führer stressed that further silence on his part would be a crime not only against Germany, but against Europe as well. On the border now stand 160 Russian divisions,[14] which have repeatedly violated that frontier. On June 17-18 Soviet patrols were forced back across the border only after a lengthy exchange of fire. Meanwhile, to protect Europe and defend against further Russian provocations, the greatest build-up of forces ever has been assembled against Soviet Russia. German troops stand from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, allied in the north with Finnish troops and along the Bessarabian border with Romanian forces.
>
> The Führer concluded his proclamation with the following sentences: "I have therefore decided to once again lay the fate and the future of the German Reich and of our people in the hands of our soldiers. May the Lord God help us especially in this struggle!"

Coming to Terms With the Past

Even though more and more independent Russian, German and other European historians support the revisionist arguments of Suvorov (and others), it still seems impossible, especially in Germany, to reapportion historical responsibility from Hitler to Stalin. In this regard, Strauss recalls (pages 45-46) a discussion in May 1993 at the Military History Research Office in Freiburg involving German historian Dr. Joachim Hoffmann, decades-long associate of the Research Office, and Russian historian Viktor Suvorov. Hoffman told of conversations on the "preventive war" issue he has had with prominent Germans, including President Richard von Weizsäcker, the influential journalist Marion Gräfin Dönhoff, and political figures Egon Bahr and Heinrich Graf von Einsiedel. In every case he was told that even if Suvorov is correct, and Hitler's attack indeed preceded Stalin's by weeks, this must not be acknowledged publicly because it would exonerate Hitler. This is *typical*, says Hoffmann, of the immoral attitude that prevails in Germany. In their egotism, he adds, these Germans do not realize that they are, in effect, demanding that Rus-

sians accept the propaganda lies of the Stalin era.

Strauss contrasts the very different attitudes of Germans and Russians toward 20th century history, and the role of historical revisionism. Whereas Germans are imbued with a national masochistic guilt complex about their collectively "evil" past, which was instilled during the postwar occupation as part of Allied "reeducation" campaign, and reinforced ever since in their media and by "their" political leaders, Russians are much more free and open about their Communist past, largely because they have not been occupied by foreign conquerers, and their media and educational system has not come under the control of outsiders.[15] Although die-hard Communists try to uphold the historiography of the Soviet era, most Russians want to know the truth about their past. After all, Strauss points out, one out of every two Russian families suffered under the Stalinist tyranny. For the time being, anyway, nothing is taboo in Russia, including the role of Jews in the Communist movement. (By contrast, Germans are forbidden by law to say anything derogatory about the political activities of Jews in the first half of the 20th century.)



Dr. Joachim Hoffman served from 1960 until 1995 as a historian with the semi-official Military History Research Office in Freiburg. His detailed revisionist work *Hitler's Vernichtungskrieg, 1941-1945* ("Hitler's War of Annihilation") has appeared in five editions. An English-language edition is being prepared for publication.

The term "genocide" is used to refer particularly to the World War II treatment of Europe's Jews. Without in any way minimizing the sufferings of innocent Jews caught up in that maelstrom, one should not forget that Stalin's Soviet regime inflicted a much more ruthless and widespread genocide against the Russian and Ukrainian peoples. It is estimated that in the Soviet Union about 20 million people, the vast majority of them Slavs, lost their lives as a result of Soviet policies, either executed or otherwise perished in the Gulag prison network or as victims of imposed famine, and so forth. Millions of Germans were also victims of genocide. It is estimated that some four million Germans were killed or otherwise perished during the 1944-1948 period, victims of Allied-imposed "ethnic cleansing," starvation, slave labor in the USSR, and in inhumane POW camps administered by the victorious Allies.[16]

In promoting greater understanding of the calamitous German-Russian clash of 1941-1945, German and Russian revisionist scholars foster reconciliation between these two peoples. Strauss cites recent developments that attest to this process. In Volgograd, victors and vanquished have joined to erect a monument dedicated to all the victims of the Battle of Stalingrad. Its inscription, written in Russian and German, reads: "This monument commemorates the suffering of the soldiers and civilians who fell here. We ask that those who died here and in captivity will rest in eternal peace in Russian soil." On the outskirts of St. Petersburg a German soldiers' cemetery and memorial was recently dedicated. Across Russia today, it is not unusual for Russian women to tend the graves of German soldiers. (Because the Soviet government did very little to help identify and provide decent burials for their war dead, few Russian women have had any idea where their own sons, brothers, and husbands fell.)

In the book's epilogue, Strauss describes the fervent indignation and rage of Russians over the criminal capitalism that has taken hold in their country. The inequities between the *nouveau riches* and the mass of Russian working class people are now greater than under Soviet rule. Many Russian revisionists see an intrinsic resemblance and affinity between capitalism and Communism. Given that many former Soviet officials still hold office or otherwise wield power in the "new Russia," everyone readily sees how easy it has been for members of the old Soviet elite — the *Nomenklatura* — to reemerge in Russia's predatory capitalism as racketeers, gangsters, money speculators, bank frauders, extortionists and mafiosi. On the ruins of the Soviet system, writes Strauss, has emerged a new dictatorship of pitilessness, corruption, criminality, social division, poverty and despair. Resentment against the "reformist" policies advocated by the United States is widespread.

In this regard Strauss cites the views of Spanish writer Juan Goytisolo, who asserts that if this social pathology endures in Russia, then Karl Marx's analysis will be proven correct, at least in part. While Marx was wrong about the promised virtues of Communism, writes Goytisolo, events seem to confirm his critique of capitalism, especially of unrestrained monetarism that knows only one value, namely, maximum profits regardless of human cost.[17]

Holding flowers, an 86-year-old German from the Aibling region of Bavaria searches memorial tablets for the names of comrades who gave their lives more than half a century ago in World War II. The stone memorial tablets stands at the recently dedicated soldiers' cemetery of Zolgubovka, near St. Petersburg.

'Strong and Free'

Whether they call themselves "Reformers" (Westernizers), Communists or nationalists ("Eurasians"), Russians today, writes Strauss, overwhelmingly reject all forms of internationalism, whether Communist or capitalist. They want a Russia that is strong and free.

Toward this goal, many look to geopolitics, an outlook built on the Eurasian "heartland" theory expounded by 20th-century British geographer Halford Mackinder and promoted in Third Reich Germany by Karl Haushofer. (According to this theory, Russia has the potential for great power and prosperity because it is the core of the vast, resource-rich Eurasian heartland.) The leading exponent in Russia today of this view is Alexander Dugin, whose book, "The Basics of Geopolitics: Russia's Geopolitical Future," has been influential with both old Communists and new nationalists in a grouping sometimes referred to as the "national Bolshevik alliance," and whose adherents are known as "Eurasianists." Dugin is a close associate of Gennady Zyuganov, head of the country's largest political party, the Russian Communist Party (which, in spite of its name, is much more nationalist than Marxist). Zyuganov himself is the author of a recent book, "The Geography of Victory: The Bases of Russian Geopolitics."

Russia's parliament, the Duma, has established a Committee of Geopolitical Affairs, chaired by Alexey Mitrofanov, a member of Vladimir Zhirinovksy's Liberal Democratic Party. (Zhirinovsky proposes the formation of a Berlin-Moscow-Tokyo axis, and has been quoted as saying: "Today, the United States of America is the major enemy of our country. All our actions and dealings with America from now on should be undertaken with this in mind.")

Notes

1. Strauss, born in 1931, was arrested for anti-Communist activities as an *Oberschuler* (secondary school student) in East Germany (DDR) and imprisoned, 1950-1956. He is the author of several other notable books on Russia, including *Russland wird leben: vom roten Stern zur Zarenfahne* (1992), *Drei Tage, die die Welt erschutterten* (1992), *Burgerrechtler in der UdSSR* (1979), and *Von der Wiedergeburt slawophiler Ideen in Russland* (1977). He is also a frequent contributor to scholarly journals. He currently lives in Bavaria, where he works as a Slavic affairs specialist.
2. See: Ernst Nolte, *Der Europäische Bürgerkrieg 1917-1945: Nationalsozialismus und Bolschewismus* (Munich: 1997 [5th ed.]). Nolte has strongly suggested that Hitler's wartime treatment of the Jews might legitimately be regarded as a defensive response by Hitler to the threat of Bolshevik mass murder of the Germans. In a 1980 lecture he said: "It is hard to deny that Hitler had good reason to be convinced of his enemies' determination to annihilate long before the first information about the events in Auschwitz became public." See also the interview with Nolte in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal* (Vol. 14, No. 1), pp. 15-22, and "Changing Perspectives on History in Germany: A Prestigious Award for Nolte: Portent of Greater Historical Objectivity?," July-August 2000 *Journal*, pp. 29-32.
3. François Furet and Ernst Nolte, *Feindliche Nähe: Kommunismus und Faschismus im 20. Jahrhundert: Ein Briefwechsel* (Munich: 1998).
4. *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression*, by Stéphane Courtois and others (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999). Original edition: *Le livre noir du communisme: Crimes, terreur, répression* (Paris: 1997). Earlier works by Courtois include *Histoire du parti communiste français* (1995), *L'etat du monde en 1945* (1994), *Rigueur et passion* (1994), *50 ans d'une passion français* (1991), and *Qui savait quoi?* (1987).
5. Courtois has also written: "I am fighting for a reevaluation of Stalin. He was to be sure the greatest criminal of the century. But at the same time he was the greatest politician -

the most competent, the most professional. He was the one who understood most perfectly how to put his resources at the service of his goals."

6. Russian nationalists are fully aware, just as were the anti-Bolshevik "White Russians," that the leaders of Russia's Marxist movement — Mensheviks and Bolsheviks alike — were predominantly not Russian at all. As evidence of the alien character of the Bolshevik revolution and of the early Soviet regime, Russian nationalists (along with many others) often cite The Last Days of the Romanovs, a work by British writer Robert Wilton (and now translated into Russian). In an appendix to the 1993 IHR edition of this work (pp. 184-190), Wilton also notes: "According to data furnished by the Soviet press, out of important functionaries of the Bolshevik state... in 1918-1919 there were: 17 Russians, two Ukrainians, eleven Armenians, 35 Letts [Latvians], 15 Germans, one Hungarian, ten Georgians, three Poles, three Finns, one Czech, one Karaim, and 457 Jews." See also: M. Weber, "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and the Early Soviet Regime," Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 4-14.
7. A special 1996 edition of the Moscow newspaper *Russkiy Vestnik* lists the names of the executioners: Yankel Yurovsky, Anselm Fischer, Istvan Kolman, A. Chorwat, Isidor Edelstein, Imre Magy [?], Victor Grinfeld, Andreas Wergasi and S. Farkash. The article concludes: "All of this attests to the non-Russian origin of the murderers."
8. According to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the six directors were Semyon Firin, Matvei Berman, Naftali Frenkel, Lazar Kogan, Yakov Rappoport, Sergei Zhuk. The Head of the Military Guards was Brodsky, the Canal Curator of the Central Executive Committee was Solts, the GPU and NKVD heads were Yagoda, Pauker, Spiegelglas, Kaznelson, Sakovskiy, Sorensen, Messing and Arshakuni. As the names indicate, all were non-Russians. Stalin awarded most of these murderers the honorary title "Hero of Labor." See: Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, III-IV, Book Two (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), pp. 79, 81, 82, 84, 94, etc.
9. This generalization is mostly valid for the first 20 years of Soviet rule. However, following the Great Purge (1937-1939), and except for several years after World War II in East Europe where Stalin used Jewish Communists to instal puppet regimes, the dictator until his death actively opposed elements he referred to as cosmopolitans, parasites, and so forth.
10. Grigorenko originally submitted his article to the Soviet journal *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, which (of course) rejected it. It was published in 1969 by Possev, a Russian emigré publishing house in Frankfurt am Main.
11. Suvorov's first three books on World War II have been reviewed in *The Journal of Historical Review*. The first two, Icebreaker and "M Day," were reviewed in Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal* (Vol. 16, No. 6), pp. 22-34. His third book, "The Last Republic," was reviewed in the July-August 1998 *Journal* (Vol. 17, No. 4), pp. 30-37.
12. See the review of *Stalins Falle* ("Stalin's Trap"), by Adolf von Thadden, in the May-June 1999 *Journal*, pp. 40-45.
13. *Gotovil li Stalin nastupatel'nuyu voynu protiv Gitlera* ("Did Stalin Make Preparations for an Offensive War Against Hitler?," by Grigoriy Bordyugov and Vladimir Nevezhin (Moscow: AIRO XX, 1995), and, *1 sentyabrya 1939-9 maya 1945: Pyatidesyatiletiye razgroma fashistkoy Germanii v Kontekste Nachala Vtoroy Mirovoy Voyny* ("September 1, 1939-May 9, 1945: the 50th Anniversary of the Defeat of Fascist Germany in the Context of the Beginning of the War"), edited by I.V. Pavlova and V. L. Doroshenko (Novosibirsk Memorial, 1995). The latter work was briefly cited in the Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal*, pp. 32-34.
14. The German High Command greatly underestimated the number of Soviet divisions, as well as the quality and quantity of Soviet tanks. Hitler and the Wehrmacht were to find not 160 divisions on their doorstep, but more than 300. See: David Irving, *Hitler's War* (New York: Viking, 1977), pp. 205-206, 297. On the correlation of forces in June 1941, see also Joachim Hoffmann, *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* (Munich, 1995), Chapter 1, and esp. pp. 31, 66.
15. Ominously, however, the "oligarchs," most of them Jewish, exercise considerable control over the Russian media. See: Daniel W. Michaels, "Capitalism in the New Russia," May-June 1997 *Journal*, pp. 21-27, and, "A Jewish Appeal to Russia's Elite," Nov.-Dec. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 13-18.
16. See: Alfred-Maurice de Zayas, *The German Expellees: Victims in War and Peace* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), Alfred-M. de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam: The Expulsion of the Germans From the East* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska, 1989 [3rd rev. ed.]), James Bacque, *Other Losses* (Prima, 1991), J. Bacque, *Crimes and Mercies* (Little, Brown, 1997), Ralph Keeling, *Gruesome Harvest: The Allies' Postwar War Against the German People* (IHR, 1992).
17. Juan Goytisolo, *La Saga de los Marx* (Barcelona: Mondadori, 1993). Although Goytisolo was undoubtedly one of Spain's foremost 20th century novelists, both his political views and private life were highly controversial. Expelled from Spain by Franco, he lived most of his life in France.

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Document

Hitler's 'Barbarossa' Proclamation

On the morning of June 22, 1941, Reich Minister Goebbels announced to the world the startling news that German forces, together with Finnish and Romanian troops, had struck against the vast Soviet Union. On German radio he read Hitler's historic proclamation justifying the attack. Among other things, he said that Stalin had massed some 160 divisions to strike westwards. In reality, more than 300 Soviet divisions were assembled against Germany and Europe. Hitler and his generals had thereby greatly underestimated the Soviet danger — a fateful miscalculation that ultimately proved catastrophic, and not just for Germany.

To the Italian leader Benito Mussolini, Hitler wrote that deciding to attack Soviet Russia was "the most difficult decision of my life." And even though it meant engaging Germany in a two-front war, something he had specifically warned against in Mein Kampf, this was a decision he never regretted.

Hitler's strike against the Soviet Union, codenamed "Barbarossa," has often been called his worst single military blunder because the immense clash he unleashed ended four years later, in May 1945, with his suicide in his Berlin command post, Soviet forces hoisting the Red hammer-and-sickle banner above the Reichstag, and Germany's unconditional surrender.

Hitler's "Barbarossa" assault is often, but simplistically, portrayed as a treacherous and unprovoked surprise attack against a peaceable ally, motivated by greed, dreams of empire, loathing of Russians and other Slavic peoples, and visceral hatred of Communism. Today, 60 years later, German and Russian historians continue to grapple with the origins of this mightiest military clash in history. Because Hitler's proclamation of June 22, 1941, helps to explain the German leader's motives for turning against Soviet Russia, it is a document of historic importance. The text is given here in full.

— The Editor

German people! National Socialists!

Weighed down with heavy cares, condemned to months-long silence, the hour has now come when at last I can speak frankly.

When on September 3, 1939, the German Reich received the British declaration of war there was repeated anew the British attempt to thwart every beginning of a consolidation of Europe and thereby its rise, by fighting against whatever power on the Continent was strongest at any given time. That is how, in times past, Britain ruined Spain in many wars. That is how she conducted her wars against Holland. That is how later she fought France with the aid of all Europe, and that is how, at the turn of the century, she began the encirclement of the then German Reich and, in 1914, the [First] World War. It was only on account of its internal lack of unity that Germany was defeated in 1918. The consequences were terrible.

After hypocritical declarations that the fight was solely against the Kaiser and his regime, and once the German army had laid down its arms, the annihilation of the German Reich began according to plan.

While the prophecies of a French statesman that there were two million Germans too many — in other words, that this number would have to be eliminated by hunger, disease or emigration — were apparently being fulfilled to the letter, the National Socialist movement began its work of unifying the German people, and thereby initiating the resurgence of the Reich. This rise of our people from distress, misery and shameful disregard was in the form of a purely internal renaissance. In no way did that affect, much less threaten, Britain.

Nevertheless, a new, hate-filled policy of encirclement against Germany began immediately. Internally and externally there came into being that plot, familiar to all of us, between Jews and democrats, Bolsheviks and reactionaries, with the sole aim of inhibiting the establishment of the new German people's state, and of plunging the Reich anew into impotence and misery.

Apart from us, the hatred of this international world conspiracy was directed against those nations that, like ourselves, were neglected by fortune and were obliged to earn their daily bread in the hardest struggle for existence.

Above all, the right of Italy and Japan, just as much as that of Germany, to share in the goods of this world was contested and in fact was formally denied. The alliance of these [three] nations was, therefore, purely an act of self-protection in the face of the egoistic global combination of wealth and power that threatened them. As early as 1936 [Winston] Churchill, according to statements by the American General Wood before a committee of the American House of Representatives, declared that Germany was once again becoming too powerful and must therefore be destroyed.

In the Summer of 1939 the time seemed to have

come for Britain to begin to realize its intended annihilation by repetition of a comprehensive policy of encirclement of Germany. The plan of the campaign of lies staged for this purpose consisted in declaring that other people were threatened, in tricking them with British promises of guarantees and assistance, and of getting them to go against Germany, just as had happened prior to the [First] World War.

From May to August 1939, Britain thus succeeded in broadcasting to the world that Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Finland and Bessarabia. as well as Ukraine, were being directly threatened by Germany. Some of these states allowed themselves to be misled into accepting the promise of guarantee proffered with these assertions, thus joining the new encirclement front against Germany. Under these circumstances I considered myself entitled to assume responsibility, before my own conscience and before the history of the German people, not only of assuring these countries or their governments of the falseness of these British assertions, but also of setting at rest the strongest power in the east [the Soviet Union], by especially solemn declarations regarding the limits of our interests.

National Socialists! At that time you probably all felt that this step was a bitter and difficult one for me. The German people has never harbored hostile feelings against the peoples of Russia. However, for more than two decades the Jewish Bolshevik rulers in Moscow had been endeavoring to set aflame not only Germany but all Europe. At no time did Germany ever attempt to carry her National Socialist worldview into Russia, but on the contrary Jewish Bolshevik rulers in Moscow unswervingly endeavored to foist their domination upon us and other European nations, not only by ideological means but above all with military force. The consequences of the activity of this regime were nothing but chaos, misery and starvation in all countries.

I, on the other hand, have been striving for two decades, with a minimum of intervention and without destroying our production, to arrive at a new socialist order in Germany, one that not only eliminates unemployment but also permits the productive worker to receive an ever greater share of the fruits of his labor. The achievements of this policy of national economic and social reconstruction — which strove for a true national community by overcoming rank and class divisions — are unique in today's world.

It was therefore only with extreme difficulty that I brought myself in August 1939 to send my [Foreign] Minister [von Ribbentrop] to Moscow in an endeavor there to counter the British encirclement policy against Germany. I did this only out of a sense of responsibility toward the German people, but above all in the hope of finally, in spite of everything, achieving long-term detente and of being able to reduce sacrifices that otherwise might have been demanded of us.

On the morning of Sunday, June 22, 1941, Reich propaganda minister Goebbels broadcasts to the world the startling news that Germany has struck against Soviet Russia. Reading Hitler's historic proclamation, he explains his government's reasons for the fateful attack, the largest-scale military offensive in history to that time.

While Germany solemnly affirmed in Moscow that the designated territories and countries — with the exception of Lithuania — lay outside any German political interests, a special [supplementary] agreement was concluded in case Britain were to succeed in inciting Poland into actually going to war against Germany. In this case, as well, German claims were subject to limitations entirely out of proportion to the achievements of the German forces.

National Socialists! The consequences of this treaty, which I myself desired and which was concluded in the interests of the German nation, were very severe, particularly for Germans living in the countries concerned. Far more than half a million [ethnically] German men and women, all small

Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, left, in conversation with Hitler in the Reich Chancellory during his visit to Berlin, November 12-13, 1940. Interpreter Gustav Hilger, middle, translates Molotov's remarks.

farmers, artisans and workmen, were forced to leave their former homeland practically overnight in order to escape from a new [Soviet] regime that at first threatened them with boundless misery and sooner or later with complete extermination.

Nevertheless, thousands of Germans disappeared. It was impossible ever to determine their fate, let alone their whereabouts. Among them were no fewer than 160 men of German Reich citizenship. To all this I remained silent because I had to! For, after all, it was my one desire to bring about a final relief of tension and, if possible, a permanent settlement with this [Soviet] state.

However, already during our advance in Poland, Soviet rulers suddenly, and contrary to the treaty, also claimed Lithuania. The German Reich never had any intention of occupying Lithuania, and not only failed to present any such demand to the Lithuanian government, but on the contrary refused the request of the then Lithuanian government to send German troops to Lithuania in that spirit for that purpose as inconsistent with the aims of German policy.

Despite all this I complied also with this fresh Russian demand. However, this was only the beginning of continually renewed extortions, which have been repeated ever since.

The victory in Poland, which was won exclusively by German troops, prompted me to address yet another peace offer to the Western powers [Britain and France]. It was rejected, due to the efforts of the international and Jewish warmongers. Already at that time the reason for this rejection lay in the fact that Britain still had hopes of being able to mobilize a European coalition against Germany, which was to include the Balkans and Soviet Russia. It was therefore decided in London to send Mr. Cripps as ambassador to Moscow. He received clear instructions under all circumstances to resume relations between Britain and Soviet Russia, and develop them in a pro-British direction. The British press reported on the progress of this mission, except insofar as tactical reasons did not impose silence.

In the fall of 1939 and the spring of 1940 the first results actually made themselves felt. As Russia undertook to subjugate by armed force not only Finland but also the Baltic states, she suddenly motivated this action by the assertion, as ridiculous as it was false, that she must protect these countries from an outside threat, or forestall it. This could only be meant to apply to Germany, for no other power could even intervene in the Baltic area, let alone go to war there. Still I had to be silent. However, those in power in the Kremlin immediately went further.

Whereas in the spring of 1940 Germany, in accordance with the so-called Friendship Treaty [of Sept. 28, 1939, with Soviet Russia], withdrew her forces from the eastern frontier and, in fact, for the most part cleared these areas entirely of German troops, a deployment of Russian forces at that time was already beginning, to an extent that could only be regarded as a deliberate threat to Germany.

According to a statement that [Soviet Foreign Minister] Molotov personally made at that time, there were 22 Russian divisions in the Baltic states alone already in the spring of 1940. Given that the Russian government always claimed that it had been called in by the local population, the purpose of their presence there could only be a demonstration against Germany.

While our soldiers from May 10, 1940, onward were breaking Franco-British power in the west, Russian military deployment on our eastern frontier was continuing to an ever more menacing extent. From August 1940 onward I therefore considered it to be in the interest of the Reich to no longer permit our eastern provinces, which moreover had been laid waste so often before, to remain unprotected in the face of this tremendous deployment of Bolshevik divisions.

Thus, and just as intended by this British-Soviet Russian cooperation, there came about the tying up of such strong [German] forces in the east that a radical conclusion of the war in the west, particularly as regards aircraft, could no longer be vouched for by the German leadership. This, however, was in line with the goals not only of British but also of Soviet Russian policy, for both Britain and Soviet Russia intended to let this war go on for as long as possible in order to weaken all Europe and render it

ever more impotent.

Russia's threatened attack on Romania was in the last analysis equally intended to gain possession of or, if possible, to destroy, an important base of the economic life of not only Germany, but of all of Europe. Since 1933 the German Reich sought with boundless patience to win over states in southeastern Europe as trading partners. We therefore also had the greatest interest in their internal consolidation and order. Russia's advance into Romania and Greece's alliance with Britain threatened to quickly turn these regions as well into a general theater of war.

Joseph Stalin. His plan to overwhelm Europe in a decisive military assault was dashed by Hitler's preemptive "Barbarossa" strike.

Contrary to our principles and customs, and at the urgent request of the then Romanian government, which was itself responsible for this development, I advised that it acquiesce to the Soviet Russian demands for the sake of peace, and to cede [the province of] Bessarabia. The Romanian government believed, however, that it could answer for this before its own people only if Germany and Italy in compensation would at least guarantee the integrity of what still remained of Romania. I did so with heavy heart, above all because when the German Reich gives a guarantee, that means it also abides by it. We are neither Englishmen nor Jews.

I still believe at this late hour to have served the cause of peace in that region, albeit by assuming a serious obligation of our own. In order, however, finally to solve these problems and achieve clarity concerning the Russian attitude toward Germany, as well as under pressure of continually increasing mobilization on our eastern frontier, I invited Mr. Molotov to come to Berlin.

The Soviet Foreign Minister [during their November 1940 meeting] then demanded Germany's clarification of or agreement to the following four questions:

Molotov's first question: Is the German guarantee for Romania also directed against Soviet Russia in case of attack by Soviet Russia against Romania?

My answer: The German guarantee is a general one and is unconditionally binding upon us. Russia, however, never declared to us that she had other interests in Romania beyond Bessarabia. The [Soviet] occupation of Northern Bukovina was already a violation of this assurance. I did not therefore think that Russia could now suddenly have more far-reaching intentions against Rumania.

Molotov's second question: Russia again feels itself menaced by Finland, Russia is determined not to tolerate this. Is Germany ready not to give any aid to Finland, and above all immediately to withdraw German relief troops marching through to Kirkenes?

My answer: As ever, Germany has absolutely no political interests in Finland. A new war by Russia against the small Finnish nation could not, however, be regarded any longer by the German government as tolerable, all the more so because we could never believe that Finland could threaten Russia. Under no circumstances did we want another theater of war to arise in the Baltic.

Molotov's third question: Is Germany prepared to agree that Soviet Russia give a guarantee to Bulgaria and, in this regard, send Soviet troops to Bulgaria, in connection with which he — Molotov — was prepared to state that the Soviets did not intend on that account, for example, to depose the King?

My answer: Bulgaria is a sovereign state, and I have no knowledge that Bulgaria had ever asked Soviet Russia for any kind of guarantee such as Romania had requested from Germany. Moreover, I would have to discuss the matter with my allies.

Molotov's fourth question: Soviet Russia absolutely requires free passage through the Dardanelles, and for her protection also demands occupation of a number of important bases on the Dardanelles and the Bosporus. Is Germany in agreement with this or not?

My answer: Germany is prepared at any time to agree to altering the Treaty of Montreux [1936] in favor of the Black Sea states. Germany is not prepared to agree to Russia's taking possession of bases on the Straits.

National Socialists! Here I adopted the only attitude that I could adopt as the responsible leader of the German Reich, but also a conscientiously responsible representative of European culture and civilization. The result was to increase the activity in Soviet Russia directed against the Reich, above all, however, the immediate commencement of undermining the new Romanian state from within, and an attempt to remove the Bulgarian government by propaganda.

Adolf Hitler. On the morning of June 22, 1941, the German leader launched the "Barbarossa" strike against the USSR to forestall an imminent Soviet assault. "Under no circumstances," he later explained, "could we allow the enemy the opportunity to strike first into our rear."

With the help of confused and immature leaders of the Romanian [Iron Guard] Legion a coup d'etat was staged in Romania whose aim was to overthrow Chief of State General Antonescu and produce chaos in the country so as to eliminate thee legal authority and thus remove the precondition for implementing the German guarantee. I nevertheless still believed it best to remain silent.

Immediately after the failure of this undertaking, there was renewed reinforcement of concentrations of Russian troops on Germany's eastern frontier. Panzer detachments and parachute troops were transferred in ever increasing numbers to dangerous proximity to the German frontier. The German armed forces and the German homeland know that until a few weeks ago not a single German tank or motorized division was stationed on our eastern frontier.

If any final proof was required for the coalition meanwhile formed between Britain and Soviet Russia, despite all diversion and camouflage, the Yugoslav conflict provided it. While I made every effort to undertake a final attempt to pacify the Balkans and, in sympathetic cooperation with the Duce [Mussolini], invited Yugoslavia to join the Tripartite Pact, Britain and Soviet Russia jointly organized that coup d'etat which, in a single night, removed the government that had been ready to come to agreement.

For today we can inform the German nation that the Serb putsch against Germany did not take place merely under the British, but primarily under Soviet Russian auspices. While we remained silent on this matter as well, the Soviet leaders now went one step further. They not only organized the putsch, but a few days later [April 5, 1941] concluded that well-known friendship treaty with those submissive creatures, which was meant to strengthen the Serbs in their will to resist pacification of the Balkans, and to incite them against Germany. And this was no platonic intention: Moscow demanded mobilization of the Serbian army.

Because, even then, I still believed it better not to speak out, those in power in the Kremlin went still further: The government of the German Reich today possesses documentary evidence proving that Russia, in order finally to bring Serbia into the war, gave her a promise to supply her, by way of Salonika, with weapons, aircraft, munitions and other war materials against Germany. And this happened almost at the very moment that I was advising Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka to bring about an easing of tensions with Russia, still hoping thereby to serve the cause of peace.

Only the rapid advance of our incomparable divisions to Skoplje, as well as the capture of Salonika itself, frustrated the aims of this Soviet Russian-British plot. Officers of the Serbian air force, however, fled to Russia and were there immediately received as allies.

It was only the victory of the Axis powers in the Balkans that thwarted the plan to tie down Germany this summer in months of fighting in southeastern Europe while meantime steadily completing the deployment of Soviet Russian armies and strengthening their readiness for battle in order, finally, together with Britain and supported by anticipated American supplies, to tie down and then defeat the German Reich and Italy.

Thus Moscow not only broke but miserably betrayed the stipulations of our friendship treaty. All this was done while the rulers in the Kremlin, exactly as in the case of Finland and Romania, up to the last moment pretended peace and friendship and issued seemingly harmless denials.

Although I have been obliged by circumstances again and again to keep silent, the moment has now come when to continue as a mere observer would not only be a sin of omission but a crime against the German people — yes, even against the whole of Europe.

Today something like 160 Russian divisions are standing at our frontier. For weeks there have been constant violations of this frontier, not only affecting us but also in the far north [against Finland], as well as Romania. Russian airmen consider it sport nonchalantly to overlook these frontiers, presumably to prove to us that they already feel themselves masters of these territories. During the night of June 17 to 18 Russian patrols again penetrated into Reich territory, and could only be driven back after prolonged exchange of fire.

This has brought us to the hour when it is necessary for us to counter this plot of Jewish-British warmongers and equally the Jewish rulers of the Bolshevik center in Moscow.

German people! At this moment a deployment of forces is taking place that, in its extent and scope, is the greatest the world hitherto has seen. United with their Finnish comrades, the fighters of the victory of Narvik are standing in the Northern Arctic. German divisions commanded by the conqueror of Norway [General Dietl], together with the heroes of Finnish freedom under their Marshal [Mannerheim], are protecting Finnish soil. Formations of the German eastern front extend from East Prussia to the Carpathians. German and Romanian soldiers are united under Chief of State Antonescu from the banks of the Prut along the lower reaches of the Danube to the shores of the Black Sea.

The task of this front, therefore, is not merely the protection of individual countries, but the safeguarding of Europe, and thereby the salvation of all.

I therefore decided today to once again lay the fate and future of the German Reich and our people in the hands of our soldiers.

May the Lord God help us especially in this fight!

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"...[T]he memories that the Confederate flag evokes, both then and now, are mostly of a people's heroic struggle for independence and self-determination, not those of human bondage."

— James P. Philbin

Could *You* Survive a Nuclear Attack?

Why I Survived The A-Bomb

By Akira Kohchi (Albert Kawachi)

Until now, the *real* story of the first nuclear holocaust had not been told. Previous books on the atomic bombings of Hiroshima approached it only obliquely: technical works hailed it as a marvel of nuclear science, and books written from the military perspective honored the men who gave and carried out a difficult order. Even the eyewitness accounts, numbering some two thousand — and almost all yet to be translated from the Japanese — are overwhelmingly stories of *personal* misery. The total picture — the background, scope, and consequences of the catastrophe — has, until now, never been presented.

Why I Survived the A-Bomb tells a unique and fascinating story as seen from inside Japan 48 years ago and today. The author is eminently qualified — he lived through the experience of a nuclear attack and walked through the flaming, radioactive city of Hiroshima!

Holocaust survivor and author Albert Kawachi

Albert Kawachi, a longtime United Nations finance officer, explores the attempts at political and economic justifications for the atom-bombing as he describes the day-to-day living experiences of his family in its wake. His story is dramatic, informative, and historically revisionist.

What was it really like to survive the massive devastation, then deal with the suffering and humiliation wrought by this American doomsday weapon? Who was behind the use of the bomb in the first place? And what did it really accomplish? We need real answers to these hard questions before we speak glibly of defense and disarmament, and before we argue over trade imbalances and deficits, for what happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki could be our tomorrow.

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You'll be amazed as Occidental College professor Michael Shermer squares off against *Journal* editor Mark Weber in this unforgettable clash of wits on the most politicized chapter of 20th century history.

Shermer, just back from an inspection of the sites of the wartime concentration camps of Auschwitz, Majdanek, Mauthausen and Dachau, cites a "convergence of evidence" in his defense of the Holocaust story.

Weber, Director of the Institute for Historical Review, delivers a powerful summary of the revisionist critique of the Holocaust story, and gives a devastating response to Shermer's arguments.

Shermer, editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, makes one startling concession after another. He acknowledges that numerous Holocaust claims — once "proven" by eyewitnesses and courts — are obviously not true. Shermer concedes, for example, that an execution "gas chamber" at Majdanek — shown to thousands of trusting tourists yearly — is a fraud. (At Nuremberg the Allies "proved" that the Germans murdered *one and half million* people at this one camp.)

This two hour clash — at a special IHR meeting on July 22, 1995 — dramatically gives the lie to the often-repeated claim that the Holocaust story is "undebatable."

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Letters

'Mr. Death'

Among the many accounts that I have read of "Mr. Death," Errol Morris' film about Fred Leuchter, I think that Greg Raven's is the most instructive ("Flawed Documentary of Execution Expert", Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, pp. 62-69). In it the basic dishonesty of Jewish director Morris is well displayed. It is simply a pity for Raven that he does not point out that, in some scenes, it is not Leuchter who appears on the screen but an actor disguised as him so that Leuchter is portrayed as a "desecrator" in the ruins of an alleged Nazi gas chamber. (This point is explained on the aaargh.vho.org web site, "Actualités de novembre 2000," in an article entitled "Simplet," French for "simpleton," the term used, altogether unjustly, by David Irving in his interview with Morris to describe Leuchter.)

There is an essential factor that neither Raven nor any other revisionist, to my knowledge, seems to have noticed: the absence, in this alleged documentary, of any depiction of an American gas chamber designed for the execution of condemned prisoners. Fred Leuchter is described in words as a sort of technician of death administered in four ways: electrocution, hanging, lethal injection, and gassing. But while Morris takes care to illustrate the first three methods of execution with numerous images, he carefully avoids showing even one image of an American penitentiary gas chamber. And he is right to do so, for the mere representation of the imposing door of such a chamber would, in my opinion, be enough to let the attentive viewer grasp that the putting to death of one man by gassing with hydrocyanic acid calls for extensive safety measures and a highly sophisticated technique.

I have devoted a part of my life to citing again and again what I call "the argument of the American gas chamber," to demonstrate the absurdity of the alleged Nazi [homicidal] gas chambers. I have often published or shown, as I did at the Zündel trials, photographs of the Baltimore penitentiary's gas chamber, along with the text of the "Procedure Check List" for executions there. (See S. Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* [1980], pp. 301-309; "The Mechanics of Gassing," Spring 1980 *Journal*, pp. 23-30, reproduced in B. Kulaszka, *Did Six Million Really Die?: Report on the Evidence in the Canadian "False News" Trial of Ernst Zündel* [Toronto: 1992], pp. 322-324; "The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?," Winter 1981 *Journal*, esp. pp. 326-327.)

But I have the impression of not having convinced very many. Neither Fred Leuchter, nor Germar Rudolf, nor Walter Lüftl, has taken up my argument. I am therefore happy to note that Errol Morris, for his part, seems, in his own way, to have been receptive to that argument.

Robert Faurisson
Vichy, France

An Angry Episode

Having just read the July-August 2000 *Journal*, I want to say that I found all the articles interesting. One thing struck me: the articles all read so very well. You could say I read it from cover to cover in one sitting (actually two).

Your piece on the 1945 sinkings of the *Cap Arcona* and the *Thielbek* reminded me of an episode when I spent a six-month sabbatical at Reading in England during 1983. I was walking along the Kennet and Avon canal with the *Telegraph* under my arm. It contained a letter from an arrogant Englishman (probably a major or officer from World War II) who dismissed with contempt any possibility that the *British* could in any way be responsible for this bombing. It made me so angry that I threw the paper into the canal, and I found a large stone to throw on the paper to make sure it sank forever!

Costas Zaverdinos
Pietermaritzburg
South Africa

A Blessing In Disguise

Although "Holocaust denial" laws have created physical and mental hardship for such scholars as Dr. Fredrick Töben, David Irving, Jürgen Graf and Dr. Robert Faurisson, they have actually created an interest in this historical period for people, myself included, who normally would not be interested.

My first encounter with a prominent revisionist was when I phoned Dr. Töben at his Australian residence from my New York office, not realizing I was ringing him at 6:00 in the morning, his time. A few days later I learned from David Irving's web site that the first person in the revisionist movement I contacted had been arrested in Germany.

I was perplexed. Why would there be laws to sabotage historical research for Dr. Töben? His arrest had an impact on my own pursuits in historical research. What struck a chord in my new thinking about the Holocaust, in particular, was a point he made during our conversation a few days before his infamous arrest. When I asked him what he believed, he said "I don't believe in anything. I want to know." As simple as it sounds, that was my turning point in my immersion into historical revisionism.

His words, "I want to know," coupled with his arrest motivated me to become a web journalist and create *RePortersNotebook.com*, a collection of journalistic truths suppressed by the mainstream media. Its mission statement is the following: "The ramifications of dishonest news reporting divides people. Our purpose is to rectify false concepts in history writing and contemporary news reporting."

I am indebted to researchers such as Dr. Töben for the sacrifices forced on them, and for their courage in speaking out, at the risk of suffering physical and mental hardships. (And I would not have known about Dr. Töben, or his arrest, if I had not been exposed to the World Wide Web.)

As we enter a new millennium, it is mind boggling that it is a taboo to want to know about certain historical events.

Michael Santomauro
New York City
[MSantom629@aol.com]

Motivation?

I am student in Denmark. Having read through your article about Simon Wiesenthal [from the Sept.-Oct. 1995 *Journal*], I was quite disturbed by the accusations you make. It is not my intention to discuss whether even just one of these so-called frauds you claim Wiesenthal is guilty of, truly is a fraud. I am merely interested: Why even dig through all that information and commit yourself so heartedly to prove it wrong, if not for some political conviction? Do you intend to write off the entire Holocaust? And if so, would that not make you a Nazi in the eyes of this entire world, including me? Or have I gotten this all wrong?

Søren R. Staugaard
Denmark [by e-mail]

Today the "Nazi" accusation is little more than a cheap epithet. It is used not to explain or define, but to smear. I am not a "Nazi." But whether I am or not should basically be irrelevant in assessing the accuracy of what I've written about Simon Wiesenthal.

My purpose in writing about Wiesenthal was to focus attention on facts — verifiable facts — about this deceitful man. This is important, even necessary, because he is such an influential man in our society. He is portrayed, by himself and others, as a great moral guide. He's nothing of the kind, as I think the facts clearly show.

If what I wrote about Wiesenthal is accurate, your indignation should be directed at him and those who, for their own self-serving reasons, portray him as an icon.

— The Editor

Hope for the Future

The lengthy article by Costas Zaverdinos, "The Rudolf Case, Irving's Lost Libel Suit and the Future of Revisionism," in the Sept.-Oct. 2000 *Journal* presents an excellent review and assessment of the status of revisionist work in history. One can see that a great deal of work and thought went into this synthesis. This is the kind of level-headed presentation of the issues that ought to be made available to young university students, doctoral candidates in chemistry and chemical engineering, and to all younger people, who are the hope for the future in uncovering truth.

As I look back over my life, and consider how the Holocaust came to "prime time," it is pretty clear that this has been an orchestrated, Hollywood-style media event. In the years immediately after World War II, and throughout the 1950s, one heard virtually nothing about all this. There wasn't much in the 1960s, either. However, by the 1970s, when television technology had advanced significantly, it was possible to do "creative editing" and construct all kinds of imagery and propaganda. But it's only during the past quarter century that the Holocaust business has really taken off.

A. E.
Santa Fe Springs, Calif.

Concentrated Information

After recently spending a lot of time on the IHR site, I must say that it's truly a bastion of excellent information — specific information that I can't find anywhere else in such concentrated form. I find relevant information more quickly on the IHR site than I do searching the entire Internet.

D. J. S.
[by e-mail]

Refreshing Exactitude

Having recently discovered the IHR website, I am quite impressed. It is thought-provoking and professional, and your attention to scholarly exactitude is refreshing.

P.B.
[by e-mail]

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at editor@ihr.org

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A Defense of the Dilettante

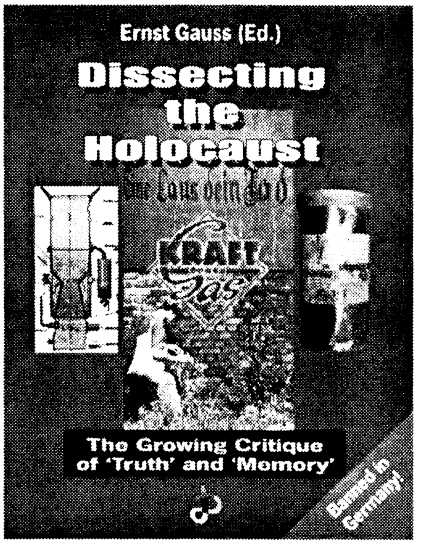
"In learning ... once can attain mastery only of a limited field, namely as a specialist, and this mastery one should attain. But if one does not wish to forfeit the ability to form a general overview — indeed, to have respect for such an overview — then one should be a dilettante in as many fields as possible — at any rate, privately — in order to enhance one's own knowledge and enrichment of diverse historical viewpoints. Otherwise one remains an ignoramus in all that lies beyond one's speciality, and under the circumstances, on the whole, a barbarous fellow."

— Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897). Quoted in *The New York Review of Books,* Sept. 23, 1999, p. 68.

New!

The Most Important Dissection of the Holocaust Story in Years!

Packed with stunning revelations, this scholarly, attractive and well-referenced work is the best revisionist critique of the Holocaust story to appear in years.



In this big (8 1/2 x 11 inches), illustrated, 600-page collection, 17 specialists — chemists, engineers, geologists, historians and jurists — subject Holocaust claims to withering scrutiny. They expose bogus testimonies, falsified statistics, doctored photos, distorted documents, farcical trials, and technological absurdities. They provide expert examinations of the alleged Holocaust murder weapons: gas vans and gas chambers.

Among the 22 essays in this anthology are:

- Germar Rudolf (E. Gauss), "The Controversy about the Extermination of the Jews.
- Robert Faurisson, Preface and "Witnesses to the Gas Chambers of Auschwitz"
- John C. Ball, "Air Photo Evidence"
- Mark Weber, "'Extermination' Camp Propaganda Myths"
- Friedrich P. Berg, "The Diesel Gas Chambers: Myth within a Myth"
- Carlo Mattogno, "The Gas Chambers of Majdanek"
- H. Tiedemann, "Babi Yar: Critical Questions and Comments"
- Udo Walendy, "Do Photographs Prove the NS Extermination of the Jews?"

Writes Dr. Arthur R. Butz: "There is at present no other single volume that so provides a serious reader with a broad understanding of the contemporary state of historical issues that influential people would rather not have examined."

It's no wonder that alarmed authorities banned the original German edition, ordering all remaining copies confiscated and burned.

Dissecting the Holocaust is edited by Germar Rudolf ("Ernst Gauss"), a certified chemist, born in 1964, who wrote "The "Rudolf Report," a detailed on-site forensic examination of the "gas chamber" claims of Auschwitz and Birkenau. After a German court sentenced him to 14 months imprisonment, he fled his homeland and has been living ever since in exile as a political refugee. Since 1997, he has been editor of the German-language historical journal *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*.

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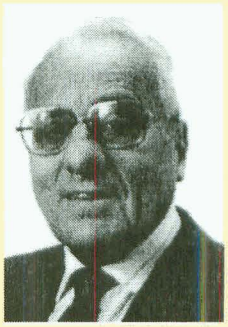
A revisionist classic and indispensable resource for scholar and layman alike!

The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein

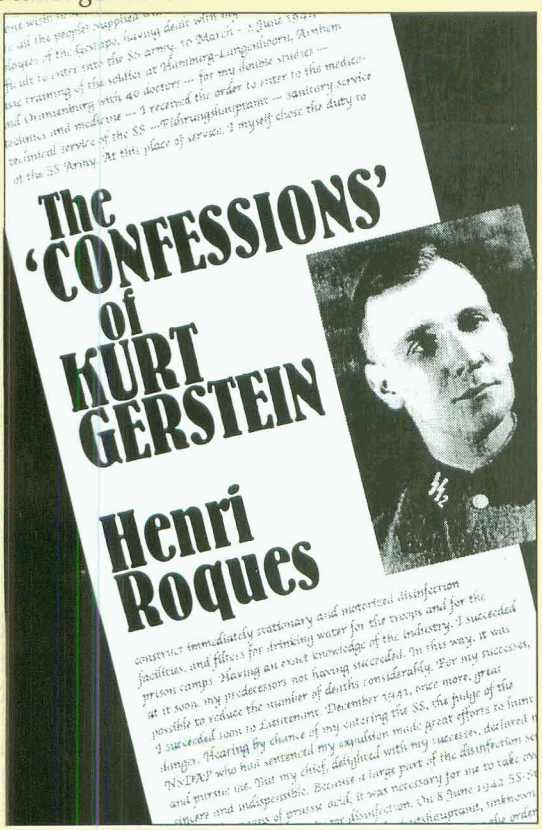
Here is the headline-making university doctoral dissertation that debunks the key "Holocaust" testimony of SS officer Kurt Gerstein — the enigmatic, twisted Third Reich functionary who claimed to have witnessed mass gassings of Jews in 1942. In this closely argued study a French scholar subjects Gerstein's accusations to critical examination, striking at the very roots of the Holocaust extermination story. The stunning conclusion: not only are Gerstein's allegations of mass killings of Jews groundless, but prominent Holocaust historians have deliberately manipulated and falsified key parts of Gerstein's tortured testimony.



Henri Roques

This powerful exposé and its author made world headlines in 1986 when, for the first time in the nearly eight-century history of French universities, a duly awarded doctorate was revoked by government order.

Gerstein's bogus "confessions" were the basis of the anti-German and anti-Catholic hysteria stirred by Rolf Hochhuth's play "The Deputy." Roques' study thus shatters the myth of Pope Pius XII's complicity in Holocaust genocide.



British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre) praised this study as "an entirely legitimate, scholarly and responsible work of *Quellenkritik* [source critique] on a limited but important subject."

Michel de Bouard of the Institut de France declared: "Had I been a member of the jury, I would probably have given a grade of 'very good' to Mr. Roques' thesis."

Includes transcripts and translations of all six versions of Gerstein's "testimonies," as well as facsimiles of the original texts and other previously unpublished documents and records. Translated from the French by Ronald Percival, who also provides a foreword.

The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein

by Henri Roques

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